

# PEACE NEWS

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RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

## The Pope limits rights of conscience

By **STUART MORRIS**

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The underlying call was for closer solidarity among the nations of Western Europe in face of the increased threat of Communism. Although His Holiness said, "We have up to now avoided, just as we did in previous cases, calling Christendom to a crusade," he came very near to it.

He implied that co-existence with Communism was impossible and questioned what purpose could be served by trying to reason with Communists.

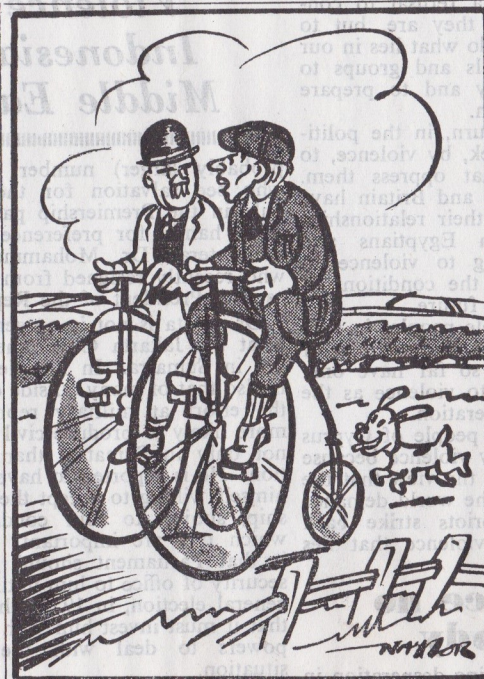
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Defence not immoral

# PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL

ONE of the tragic aspects of the Suez Crisis and the attack on Egypt has been the suffering brought to the Jewish community in Egypt and the Arab community in Israel.

Jacques Maleh, a well-informed journalist, writes about the plight of the 30,000 Jews who have been expelled from Egypt; between 3,000 and 5,000 of whom were Egyptian citizens.



"For the life of me, I can't think why we needed to start a war over oil."

## GARY DAVIS HELD IN NETHERLANDS

GARY DAVIS "World Citizen, No. 1"

Forty-nine Arab citizens of Israel were shot by Israeli Government forces on October 29—the day of the beginning of the attack on Egypt. The Israeli Government has appointed a commission of investigation, reports The Third Force group in Israel through the International Third Way Movement.

Victor Gollancz and H. F. Rubinstein in Britain have called for more just treatment of Arab refugees.

From Tel Aviv, a Peace News Correspondent sends an interview with a prominent Israeli scientist about a programme for re-settling Arab refugees.

## The plight of the Jews of Egypt

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The Egyptian Military Junta and Colonel Nasser have certainly paid no attention to the fact that by deciding on the liquidation of the Jewish community in Egypt they have expelled and dispersed throughout the world the members of one of the oldest, richest and most renowned communities in the Middle East and the Mediterranean Basin.

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## KENYA

A six page supplement

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**Dr. Peter Worsley**

**Eileen Fletcher**

**Philip R. Meldon**

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"dangerous Zionists," a crime newly recorded by a decree of Colonel Nasser.

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The Jews are then told, while in prison, that they can be released if they are willing to leave the country.

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To help all these Stateless Jews to leave Egypt, an agreement was reached last month between the International Red Cross, the Egyptian Government, the Rabbinate of Egypt and the Italian Government—the latter backed by the Jewish Community in Rome, helped by the American Joint Distribution Committee.

FULL EXPULSION



# conscience

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The underlying call was for closer solidarity among the nations of Western Europe in face of the increased threat of Communism. Although His Holiness said, "We have up to now avoided, just as we did in previous cases, calling Christendom to a crusade," he came very near to it.

He implied that co-existence with Communism was impossible and questioned what purpose could be served by trying to reason with Communists.

He claimed support for the United Nations which, he said, ought to have "the right and power of assuming by means of a sufficient police force the safeguarding of order which is threatened."

## Defence not immoral

But his attitude to conscientious objection was even more deplorable, for he declared:

"It is clear that in the present circumstances a situation can arise in which a nation, having made every effort to avoid it, can lawfully engage in war for effective self-defence and with the hope of a favourable outcome against unjust attack."

That makes nonsense of the suggestions that the United Nations should safeguard order by a "sufficient police force," since the possibility of a favourable outcome must involve the use of more effective violence than the aggressor could employ.

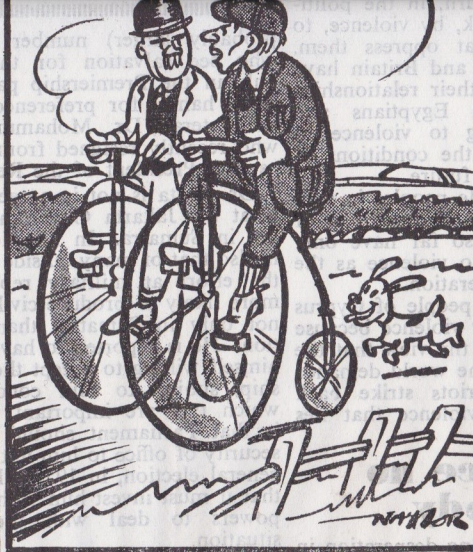
But the Pope continued:

"If, therefore, a body representative of the people and a Government—both having been chosen by free elections—in a moment of extreme danger decide on defensive precautions and carry out the plans which they consider necessary, they do not act immorally. So that a Catholic citizen cannot invoke his own conscience in order to refuse to serve and fulfil those duties the law imposes."

## Conscience remains

"Vox populi—vox Dei" is not a doctrine I should have expected to hear from the Vatican, and the Pope should be the last person to render to Caesar the things that are God's, for that is what is involved in his refusal to allow the exercise of individual conscience when the State believes that war is necessary for its defensive purposes.

Like some others, the Pope seems to have allowed his emotional reactions to the happenings in Hungary to confuse his moral judgment, or has Dr. Adenauer been putting a



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## GARY DAVIS HELD IN NETHERLANDS

GARRY DAVIS, "World Citizen No. 1" was held by Dutch police when he arrived in Amsterdam on New Year's Eve from India by plane. He was expected to be freed shortly and allowed to move about the country subject to reporting to the police.

The 35-year-old American, who received wide renown when he tore up his passport in 1948, had planned to leave the plane at Frankfurt, but the German authorities did not admit him.

Legal authorities in Amsterdam said the problem posed by Gary Davis was that he had arrived in the Netherlands without valid papers and could, therefore, not be admitted. He was free to go wherever he wished, provided, of course, that the country where he wanted to go would have him; but most countries, like the Netherlands, demanded valid papers for entry. The self-made "world passport" of Gary Davis was not recognised in Holland, the authorities added.

A number of Dutch organisations for world government demanded the immediate release of Mr. Davis. In a letter to the Dutch Minister of Justice, Professor I. Samkalden, they demanded "a legal opinion" on the issue of Davis' self-made world citizen passport.

Davis has refused to apply for an immigrant visa to the US.

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There has been, in Egypt, a permanent Jewish native Community since the First Century AD. Most of its members could even match with Colonel Nasser, or his friends, their Egyptian citizenship on the ground of antiquity.

Philosophers, scholars, poets, exegetes, were among them. The Jews of Egypt and of the Mediterranean Basin have been proud to count, as their leaders, some of the most famous guides of Israel.

They have always lived on good terms with the Moslem population and were able to practise their faith with complete liberty.

The famous Arab historian, Al-Makrisi, went even so far as to consider these Jews as equal to the Moslem Arabs with whom they, nevertheless, never assimilated.

## INNOCENT VICTIMS

On the eve of the creation of the Jewish State of Israel there were in Egypt about 75,000 Jews. Under the Governments of Mahmoud Fahmy El-Nokrachi Pasha and Ibrahim Abdul Hadi Pasha, in 1948-1949, more than 6,000 Jews were arrested and interned and their properties seized.

They were accused of Zionist activities.

Liberated in 1950 by the Government of Moustafa El-Nahas Pasha, they preferred to leave the country and were followed by some 25,000 other Jews.

This was the first free emigration on a large scale in the Middle East by Jews who knew that things had definitely deteriorated in Egypt and in the Arab countries and that the political atmosphere was poisoned for ever.

But there remained at least 30,000 Jews, the majority of whom were wealthy persons, living

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Last week 480 Stateless Jews left Egypt for Genoa and 1,000 on January 8 on board Italian ships.

According to the latest information, about 9,000 Stateless Jews have already registered to leave Egypt under the auspices of the Red Cross.

The Egyptian Officials of the Ministry of Interior are making no secret of their plan that within three months all the Jews of Egypt will have definitely left the country—a country where they have lived for centuries and to which they have rendered loyal and beneficial service.

## 49 Arab citizens killed in Israel

### ISRAELI THIRD FORCE

ON NOVEMBER 5, 1956, the Israeli Government announced the appointment of a commission to investigate the events of October 29 (the day of the attack on Egypt) in Arab villages in the Triangle in which 49 Arab citizens were killed and 13 wounded by forces under the command of the Israeli Government.

Several Israeli newspapers since that announcement have sharply condemned these events and demanded an open trial for those responsible for them, but neither the Israeli



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Undoubtedly the pronouncement will have a disturbing effect, particularly on Catholics in Germany where so many are involved in the opposition to conscription.

It is to be hoped that Catholics will remember that the Pope was not speaking *ex cathedra* and that he has no authority to set his private judgment, nor that of the State, over the authority of individual conscience.

★ ON PAGE THREE

## A READER WRITES FROM BUDAPEST

Dear Editor,

Kindly accept my very best wishes for a happy and really peaceful year and the expression of our gratitude for sending us regularly the paper, which is a great value for us; with admiration we read the world-wide activity of Peace News; and we appreciate gratefully the benevolent words of justice about poor Hungary.

Let us hope for the final victory of our ideals.

With repeated thanks, I am, dear Editor, most faithfully yours,

[Name and address withheld by Editor]

Budapest.

December 27, 1956.

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## China ban "unreasonable" —TIME

BILL WORTHY, the American journalist and Peace News contributor, who has entered China in defiance of the US State Department, has not been threatened with the maximum penalties, reports Time (Jan. 7).

Calling the ban "unreasonable," and Worthy "a hard-working foreign correspondent," Time said:

"It was apparent that the State Department, though anxious to discourage other China-minded newsmen, was not eager to start a war with the US Press on its right to gather news."

## LEAFLETS AT OPEN SKIES EXHIBIT

THE Peace Pledge Union were this week securing permission from the City of London Police to distribute leaflets outside the Royal Exchange where the "Eisenhower Open Skies Exhibition" is on display.

"Leaflets, urging the major step of renouncing war are available from 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1." Sybil Morrison told Peace News on Wednesday. "We shall welcome help in distributing them particularly at lunch time during the week and between 5 and 7 p.m. in the evenings."

The Exhibition is later to be displayed in Manchester, Birmingham, Bradford, Leicester, Bristol, Belfast, Cardiff and Edinburgh.

The Exhibition is designed to illustrate the effective part aerial photography could play in President Eisenhower's plan for mutual inspection as a "major step toward disarmament."

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This was the first free emigration on a large scale in the Middle East by Jews who knew that things had definitely deteriorated in Egypt and in the Arab countries and that the political atmosphere was poisoned for ever.

But there remained at least 30,000 Jews, the majority of whom were wealthy persons, living under the leadership of their Chief Rabbi, Haim Nahoum, a famous scholar and an old friend of the late King Fouad.

It is these 30,000 Jews who are now paying for the unfortunate consequences of the Suez Canal crisis.

They could be divided into three categories: half were Stateless, though born in Egypt like their fathers and forefathers for generations.

In addition there were about 2,000 British Jews, most of whom have now arrived in Britain, and some 10,000 French Jews, of whom it is said that about 6,000 have already arrived in France.

## CITIZENSHIP LOST

There were also about 5,000 Jews holding Italian and Greek passports, who also are leaving Egypt.

But as for the Egyptian Jews, holding citizenship (which they have lost as a result of illegal measures), their number is variously given as being between 3,000 and 5,000.

The Egyptian Government's action toward the Stateless and ex-Egyptian Jews can only be described as malicious. For no official order of expulsion has been delivered to any one of them, while such orders were delivered, in writing, to all Britons and French nationals, Jews or not-Jews, expelled by Colonel Nasser.

The police are working on the Nazi Gestapo pattern. Stateless Jews are first interned as

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Several Israeli newspapers since that announcement have sharply condemned these events and demanded an open trial for those responsible for them, but neither the Israeli Government nor these newspapers have told the public the details of what happened.

The Israeli Third Force group, founded in 1951, and affiliated with the International Third Way Movement, has through that body made the following information available.

They have done so in the belief that a cure for the present ills of the area must be based upon a recognition of the facts of the present condition.

They view the veiling of these misdeeds as in itself an additional misdeed. They have, therefore, provided "the following details of a part, as it seems, of the above events, in accordance with the information which reached us and which we have ground to believe is correct."

## CURFEW CHANGED

TIRA On October 29, 1956, in the afternoon, an officer and three men of the Security Forces, seated in a jeep, followed by two big tanks, drove into Tira.

Entering the village they met an Arab, and the officer ordered him to inform the inhabitants of Tira that today the curfew will begin at 5 p.m. (usually it begins daily in all Arab villages at 11 p.m.) and whoever will be found outdoors after 5 p.m. will be shot.

Looking at his wristwatch the officer added: now it is a quarter to five. The

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E. A. BERGMAN



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## PEACE NEWS

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### COMMUNISM UNDER REVIEW

**MR. PETER FRYER**, who, since his resignation from the Daily Worker, has been expelled from the Communist Party, proposes to appeal against this action at the next annual conference of the Party.

Signor Eugenio Reale, an ex-member of the Italian Communist Party Executive and a former Senator, has also been expelled from his Party. He, like Mr. Fryer, having been denied facilities for the expression of his views in his Party organs, has been guilty of expressing his criticisms in the "bourgeois press." Signor Reale is also seeking to appeal, although in the case of the Italian Communist Party there would seem to be a possibility that the leaders will be able to prevent him from carrying his his appeal to the Party Conference.

There must be numerous cases of this kind occurring in the Communist Parties of the countries where there is freedom of political organisation.

If we may judge from the new dicta emanating from Moscow, it will be necessary, when the Parties are to consider these expulsions (and the resignations that anticipated them) later this year, that the examination shall go forward on a much more fundamental basis than the appellants have apparently contemplated.

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**IN** contrast with what they were saying in the earlier part of last year the Russian Communist leaders are beginning to pay tribute to Stalin again.

From January 1 to 4 the Russian leaders have been in Conference in Budapest with the leaders of all the more "reliable" satellite nations and between them they have now decided what the future line must be.

The word has gone forth that the Party adherents are to treat the Hungarian rising, with the nation-wide stoppage of work that it brought with it, as a counter-revolution under foreign inspiration.

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**WHAT** those Communists have to face who feel the need to re-think their position is that it is the basic conception that separates the Communist Party from all other parties, irrespective of their objectives, that is wrong.

It is this conception that has led to the monstrous evils of Stalinism that Mr. Khrushchov was denouncing last year but which he is this year finding himself under the necessity of condoning.

It is not in its objectives that the Communist Party differs from, for instance, the Labour Party. Those objectives, according to the circumstances may either sound more extreme or more moderate than those of the Labour Party. It is certainly not the radical character of its conceptions as to social change that separates the Communist Party from such a body as the remnant of the Independent Labour Party.

What is distinctive about Communism is its requirement that there shall be only one Party and that the need for unity can justify the suppression of criticism within that Party.

"The fact that there is only one party in the country," says a statement of the Communist conception ("The USSR: 100 Questions Answered"—Soviet News) "follows from the very nature of Soviet Socialist Society."

"In the Soviet Union there is no bourgeoisie, there are no landlords or



**WE** are very conscious that this issue of Peace News contains a great deal of painful and gloomy material. We know also, however, that there is a great deal more suffering and evil to which we pay no attention in our columns, not out of a desire to avert our eyes from it, but simply because of the limitations of space.

This world of ours is a very tragic planet today; we are living in an epoch which may pass from tragedy to tragedy until it reaches the final tragedy of the annihilation of humanity.

Our reaction to what we have to face must not be a refusal to contemplate things as they are, but to brace ourselves to do what lies in our power as individuals and groups to provide the remedy and to prepare for a happier epoch.

Everywhere we turn, in the political sphere, men seek, by violence, to remedy the ills that oppress them. By violence France and Britain have sought to regulate their relationships with Egypt. Both Egyptians and Israelis are looking to violence to provide them with the conditions of a more satisfactory future.

Russia holds whole peoples in subjection by violence and the threat of violence, and they so far have only been able to look to violence as the means of their liberation.

Britain holds the people of Cyprus under oppression by violence because its Government has the view that the British position in the world demands this, and the Cypriots strike back with the type of violence that lies within their power.

### Violence no remedy

**THERE** is increasing desperation in all these attempts to remedy ills by violence and a growing realisation that there can be no satisfactory way out by these means. It may be that out of the darkness that is over the world today there will come the realisation that we have to seek other means, and time may prove that we are now on the threshold of a happier age.

has only made the already existing state of confusion worse.

Almost the only point which stands out clearly is the extent of dissatisfaction with the Sastroadmidjojo Coalition Cabinet, whose record must be admitted to be a decidedly poor one. That much is agreed upon by most Indonesians.

But after it, they begin at once to divide sharply into people who want Mr. Sastroadmidjojo to continue as Prime Minister with a radically reconstructed Cabinet, and a vast (and

### Violence Indonesia Middle East

probably larger) number of others who see salvation for the country only in the Premiership passing into other hands, for preference those of the veteran Dr. Mohammed Hatta, who recently resigned from his office as Vice-President of the Republic.

Dr. Hatta is not in agreement with what the Jakarta Government is doing in Sumatra. In his view, which is also that of many outside observers, the effort at military repression is more likely to produce civil war (and not only in Sumatra) than pacification. He is reported to have declared himself willing to accept the Premiership, subject to four conditions, of which two are important. The first is that Parliament should guarantee security of office to him until the next general election, in 1959; the second, that it must invest him with sufficient powers to deal with the difficult situation.

### Unpopular measures

**IN** the hands of most other men this might raise the suspicion of dictatorial tendencies. Dr. Hatta's life-long reputation should dispose of that, though also indicating that he

counter-measure. It is probable that he could replace the support lost by the defection of these parties by seeking that of the Communists. Such a move is not altogether probable but it is not to be excluded. And it would have a reasonable chance of being approved by President Sukarno, whose personal prestige remains considerable.

### Dulles' "security"

**WE** referred last week to the new US policy in regard to the Middle East, calling attention to some of its dangers. Now that President Eisenhower has developed his policy in detail the dangers involved in this policy, and the extent to which it continues, the most undesirable aspects of the traditional Dulles policy become clearer.

The aid in development that the President is proposing now becomes assistance "in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence," which underlines that the aid is to be "Mutual Security" aid and not help governed by the need of the peoples of the receiving countries.

The declaration as to military assistance is as follows:

"It would, in the third place, authorise such assistance and co-operation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nations controlled by international Communism."

### UN disregarded

**THIS**, like much else that has been arranged, that also has little regard for the standing and authority of the United Nations, is brought by the President under the capacious umbrella of Article 51 of the Charter which admits an "inherent right of individual and collective self defence."



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"The fact that there is only one party in the country," says a statement of the Communist conception ("The USSR: 100 Questions Answered"—Soviet News) "follows from the very nature of Soviet Socialist Society."

"In the Soviet Union there is no bourgeoisie, there are no landlords or kulaks. In other words there are no people living on the exploitation and robbery of the labour of others."

"Only two classes remain in the USSR, the workers and peasants, and their interests are not in conflict but are identical. There are, therefore, no grounds in the Soviet Union for the existence of a number of parties. There is a basis for one party only."

**IT** is from this dreadful over-simplification that the evils of Stalinism, and the renewed evils of Khrushchovism, must develop.

The assumption is that the only basis for political organisation is that of economic interest.

No allowance is to be made for the need for the effective expression of different conceptions as to social forms. Where there is any clash of view as to what is desired as to the form of society, that of the leadership has to be upheld for the sake of Party unity, and any attempt to challenge this must lead to disciplinary action, punishment and possible death.

Where these two conceptions are enforced—the single party, and unity under discipline within the party—as they are in Russia, China, and the states of Eastern Europe, and as they would be in Western Europe if the Communists were in a position to implement their policy—the basis of all politics becomes the power of suppression and the violence necessary to make that suppression effective.

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Whether this is to be so, will depend on whether it is to become possible for the individual will and conscience to assert itself in forms of action that renounce violence. Whether there is to be a happier future depends more than ever on the capacity of those in the organisations served by this newspaper to demonstrate that there are more effective ways than violence of asserting human freedom and striving for good social relationships.

The need for a sense of individual responsibility for what is happening in the world is greater now than it ever was.

## Turbulence

**T**HERE are so many different currents of opinion and of political aspirations in Indonesia that the situation created by the large-scale anti-government revolt in Sumatra

## Indonesia Middle East

probably larger) number of others who see salvation for the country only in the Premiership passing into other hands, for preference those of the veteran Dr. Mohammed Hatta, who recently resigned from his office as Vice-President of the Republic.

Dr. Hatta is not in agreement with what the Jakarta Government is doing in Sumatra. In his view, which is also that of many outside observers, the effort at military repression is more likely to produce civil war (and not only in Sumatra) than pacification. He is reported to have declared himself willing to accept the Premiership, subject to four conditions, of which two are important. The first is that Parliament should guarantee security of office to him until the next general election, in 1959; the second, that it must invest him with sufficient powers to deal with the difficult situation.

## Unpopular measures

**I**N the hands of most other men this might raise the suspicion of dictatorial tendencies. Dr. Hatta's life-long reputation should dispose of that, though also indicating that he is aware, and wants others to become aware, of the urgent need of measures strictly devoid of popular appeal.

The clearing-out of all corrupt officials will by itself set up a howling crowd of opponents.

Meanwhile, Mr. Sastroamidjojo shows no willingness to resign. The important (Muslim) Masjumi political party, which is mainly Sumatra-supported, may withdraw its five Ministers from the Coalition Cabinet; and if this happens, it is not impossible that the Catholic and Protestant Parties, each of which holds two portfolios, may follow suit.

But the Premier could take a

Eisenhower has developed his policy in detail the dangers involved in this policy, and the extent to which it continues, the most undesirable aspects of the traditional Dulles policy become clearer.

The aid in development that the President is proposing now becomes assistance "in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence," which underlines that the aid is to be "Mutual Security" aid and not help governed by the need of the peoples of the receiving countries.

The declaration as to military assistance is as follows:

"It would, in the third place, authorise such assistance and co-operation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nations controlled by international Communism."

## UN disregarded

**T**HIS, like much else that has been arranged, that also has little regard for the standing and authority of the United Nations, is brought by the President under the capacious umbrella of Article 51 of the Charter which admits an "inherent right of individual and collective self defence."

One has only to substitute "the USSR" for "the United States," and "international capitalism" for "international Communism" in the above declaration and it will be seen that it is equally open to the Russian Government to take this line.

When it is observed that the second clause in President Eisenhower's new programme of action provided that "programmes of military assistance and co-operation shall be entered into by the US with any nation or group of nations in the Middle East which desires such aid", it will be seen, that what is proposed is precisely the offence of which the Russian Government has been accused.

## FISHERMAN'S BLESSING



"**W**E'RE fishermen folk, newly returned from Great Yarmouth herring fisheries and are spells [away] from home," writes the son of old Peace News subscribers in Peterhead.

He tells us that his parents "the devoted old couple so long your subscribers," died almost together.

"I'm a son, possibly don't possess their measure of wisdom and goodness, but t'would be a break with their memory and something in itself splendid to not break with Peace News."

This friendly, warm-hearted, fisherman sends us £5 for a year's subscription to Peace News and PN pamphlets, the balance to go to our Peace News Fund.

## Communists begin to listen

LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

**P**RESSURE of work incidental to the explosive events which have marked recent months has kept me from writing this letter.

more than sufficient to warn against facile optimism. I do not think the basis for united action has been laid.



"Only two classes remain in the USSR, the workers and peasants, and their interests are not in conflict but are identical. There are, therefore, no grounds in the Soviet Union for the existence of a number of parties. There is a basis for one party only."

**IT is from this dreadful over-simplification that the evils of Stalinism, and the renewed evils of Khrushchovism, must develop.**

The assumption is that the only basis for political organisation is that of economic interest.

No allowance is to be made for the need for the effective expression of different conceptions as to social forms. Where there is any clash of view as to what is desired as to the form of society, that of the leadership has to be upheld for the sake of Party unity, and any attempt to challenge this must lead to disciplinary action, punishment and possible death.

Where these two conceptions are enforced—the single party, and unity under discipline within the party—as they are in Russia, China, and the states of Eastern Europe, and as they would be in Western Europe if the Communists were in a position to implement their policy—the basis of all politics becomes the power of suppression and the violence necessary to make that suppression effective.

## Communists begin to listen

LETTER FROM USA

by A. J. Muste

**P**RESSURE of work incidental to the explosive events which have marked recent months has kept me from sending this letter regularly. I plan to make sure that it comes every other week in the New Year.

May I take the opportunity of this first letter in that year to express my admiration for the excellent job which all who work on the staff of Peace News are doing.

I hope that both in Britain and over here in America its readers and supporters will increase.

I wish also to extend my own good wishes for a blessed New Year to Peace News readers and especially those among them whom it has been my privilege to know here in the USA and to meet in my travels abroad.

### DIFFERENT SITUATION

I think of them many times and often grieve that because of lack of secretarial assistance and for other reasons communication back and forth is so intermittent.

This is especially the case in a time like the present when change is so appallingly rapid, when volcanic forces play just under the surface in so many strategic spots around the planet and when it would mean so much if the fellowship of the believers in non-violent revolution throughout the world was also a more coherent and driving force for action than it now is.

Of the many contemporary developments on which one would

like to comment there is one that is in the forefront of my thinking at the moment. It has to do with the ferment in the Communist movement and in the various organisations which have been peripheral to it, the so-called "fronts."

Those who are at all familiar with my thinking are aware of the fact that I have been opposed to united front action, organisational collaboration with Communists and with movements which were open to them and therefore used by them.

I have even felt that great care needed to be exercised not with Communists as human beings who are, of course, entitled to be treated as fellow-humans along with every one else but with Communists as Communists in their various "fronts."

It seemed to me that what took place on such occasions was not genuine "communication," save perhaps with a few individuals, but a using of our presence for ulterior purposes which we could not possibly espouse.

I think we now confront a substantially different situation and that we must be on guard against meeting it with what Auden calls "the rehearsed response."

I am, of course, aware that we do not know just what "the repudiation of Stalinism" means and how far it will go. The Hungarian tragedy is

more than sufficient to warn against facile optimism. I do not think the basis for united action has been laid. But what is possible now is communication with Communists, ex-Communists and so on, discussion, confrontation.

For a good while, during the Stalinist period we may say for convenience, it was impossible to talk with Communists. They talked at everyone else, since they were sure they had the truth and moreover were the lords of the future.

Attempting to talk back was, as we say over here, spitting into the wind.

This situation no longer obtains. One can no longer regard all Communists as cast in the mould of monolithic and impenetrable Stalinism—not after what we have seen Communist students, writers, and workers do in Poland and Hungary.

### ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTION

Paradoxically, the reaction to the Hungarian revolt itself illustrates the point. Reference to this, in so far as it affects other countries, has been made in Peace News.

Here in the US varied opinions about Hungary are openly presented in the Daily Worker. The view of a substantial section of the leadership and membership of the Communist Party here is that Soviet action in the situation must be categorically condemned as anti-Socialist and anti-humanist.

Within the past day or so, I have received from the Vienna head-

● ON PAGE THREE

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This friendly, warm-hearted, fisherman sends us £5 for a year's subscription to Peace News and PN pamphlets, the balance to go to our Peace News Fund. He concludes his letter:

"You are struggling for money, I see, but you may be on the side of the angels for a' that. God speed ye."

Peace News will be 21 years old this coming June. In the passage of the years many friends who made great sacrifices in order that Peace News should be launched have passed on.

Others who are still with us as younger generations come forward to join in our work can be proud that the frail venture of 1936 is now firmly established as a weekly organ of world pacifist opinion.

Firmly established?

Yes, we believe it is—in the hearts of our thousands of friends all over the world.

But it still stands a challenge to them to finance its publication. Until our circulation rises it is necessary to find over £5,000 a year to subsidise its production at 4d. a copy.

£1,500 we expect to raise from the sale of Christmas Cards and books. But the other £3,500 must come from those who respond to this appeal.

Yes, as our fisherman friend says, "we are struggling for money." Experience has shown us that, since we have no working capital, we are bound to hit a crisis in May or June.

May we appeal to readers everywhere either individually or in groups to get to work in this new year to raise our circulation, to make substantial contributions to our Fund; to plan special fund raising projects or take regular collections for Peace News?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since January 1: £55 2s. 10d.  
Total for 1956: £3,002 5s. 3d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Coventry, 5s.; Bexley Heath, 6s.; Hamble, 8s.; JAT, Bristol, 5s.; Cardiff, £33; Staines, £1; Edinburgh, £1; Marsh-by-the-Sea, 5s.; HGT, Edinburgh, £2; A Friend, £1 2s.; Father, Mother and three children, Eccles, 10s.; Cheltenham, £1.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

To guide readers who wish to benefit Peace News when making their wills, the following form of legacy is suggested:

... and I give the sum of £ free of duty to Peace News Ltd. the principal place of business of which is at 3 Blackstock Road, Stoke Newington in the County of London.



# KENYA

## Kenya faces the future—with this past

IT is no accident that the major trouble-spots in contemporary Africa are all so-called "multi-racial" societies. In the Union of South Africa, in Algeria, and in Kenya, the essence of the social system is the concentration of the lion's share of political power and economic wealth in the hands of the White population.

In order to preserve this system, discrimination, violence and repressive legislation have been brought into play.

The situation in Kenya is perhaps worse than that in the other two territories from the standpoint of equity and justice. It can be put in quantitative terms. There is a population of just under 6,000,000 Africans, 31,000 Indians, 29,000 Arabs, and a European community numbering some 42,000. About 30,000 of the Europeans are concentrated in a few urban areas, notably Nairobi; the number of settlers actually on the land, therefore, is very limited—something like ten thousand people.

It is a sobering thought that so much trouble has arisen as a result of the presence of some three thousand European families on the land of Kenya.

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A SPECIAL PEACE NEWS  
SUPPLEMENT CONTAINING

*"Kenya faces the future—with this past"*

By **Dr. PETER WORSLEY**

*"The campaign for Kenya"*

By **EILEEN FLETCHER**

*"My Two years in Kenya"*

By **PHILIP R. MELDON**

*"Where Do We Go from Here"*

By **FENNER BROCKWAY MP**





# future—with this past

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

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The growth of Mau Mau has been depicted in popular literature and official reports as if it was something which can only be explained in terms of a sudden outbreak of terrorism and religious atavism on the part of a small band of men who set out to establish their rule over what had been up to that time a peaceful country.

But for those who knew the background, the events of 1952 were no great surprise.

Long before Mau Mau, it was clear that a head-on clash was coming. The reasons for the Emergency have to be sought in Kenya's history. Kenya's social and political problems had been maturing for a long time; it is important, therefore, to have a look at how Kenya came into being, and to see how the country was developed.

## Control of the Nile

PROBABLY very few people have ever believed the old saying that the British Empire was picked up in a fit of absence of mind. Nevertheless, there is just an element of truth in it as far as Kenya is concerned. For this part of Africa was not acquired by Britain because of her interest in the natural wealth of the region or for any other such special attractions the country might have. It was occupied as part of the general construction of a strategic system aiming at the control of the headwaters of the Nile and the lines of communication up the Nile Valley.

There was at this time enormous rivalry

time; she was greatly interested, however, in maintaining a line of communication to Uganda.

The railway cost an enormous amount of money, and its construction was severely criticised for this reason in the UK. It had been hoped that it would pay for itself by carrying export products from Uganda.

This proved to be an illusion; the expected great wealth of exports from Uganda did not materialise, and the railway was not paying.

Before very long, men like Sir Charles Eliot, an early Commissioner, began to think of developing Kenya through White settlement, a policy that attracted the enthusiastic support of other early leading officials. This basic harmony of interests between official and settler

if practised with consistency, and one that is found the world over.

One of the results of this type of agriculture was that the land appeared to be empty and under-cultivated to European eyes.

And pastoral peoples, too, need extensive stretches of not very rich grassland which they would graze their flocks and herds over, and then move on, perhaps not returning for a lengthy period. But they would have to return.

Now the Europeans may have been ignorant of these things, but I think it is not unfair to say that even if they had understood them, they would not have been deterred from taking the land.

The outstanding illustration of this is the

the right to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council to replace the system by which the Government appointed representatives of the settlers to the Legco. After 1919, this demand was stepped up; at this time there were some 9,000 settlers in the country.

When the European settlers were finally given this right, and Kenya became a Colony, other communities began to ask "Why can't we?"

The first to say this was the Indian community. They had been brought in from India to work as indentured labourers on the railway in large numbers, and when they had finished their contracts, did not want to go back.

Some tried farming, but the techniques re-



A group of Kikuyu children from the Kikuyu reserve as they came out of church, in 1953.



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There was at this time enormous rivalry between Great Britain, France and Germany for strategic positions controlling the lines of communication to their different imperial pos-

## By Dr. PETER WORSLEY

Dr. Worsley, an anthropologist, is at present Lecturer in Sociology at The University of Hull. He has done anthropological field research among the Australian Aborigines, and linguistic research in Tanganyika.

During the war he was with the Kenya battalions of the King's African Rifles, during which time he visited most of East Africa, and was with African troops in India.

After the war he was again in Africa on educational work and in this capacity once more visited Kenya.

He holds the degrees of BA (Cantab.), MA, Econ. (Manchester), and PhD (Australian National University).

sessions, positions which might be of inestimable importance in any future war. Britain, therefore, soon established a Protectorate over Uganda; in order to strengthen the lines of communication to Uganda from Mombasa on the coast of East Africa, a railway was built which was the basis of the Kenya-Uganda railway system of today.

Kenya was in reality just the country around the railway.

Britain was, therefore, not particularly interested in Kenya as a source of wealth at this

time; she was greatly interested, however, in maintaining a line of communication to Uganda.

The railway cost an enormous amount of money, and its construction was severely criticised for this reason in the UK. It had been hoped that it would pay for itself by carrying export products from Uganda.

This proved to be an illusion; the expected great wealth of exports from Uganda did not materialise, and the railway was not paying.

Before very long, men like Sir Charles Eliot, an early Commissioner, began to think of developing Kenya through White settlement, a policy that attracted the enthusiastic support of other early leading officials. This basic harmony of interests between official and settler has continued despite disagreement on other scores; the most striking recent manifestation of this was the retirement of Sir Philip Mitchell, formerly Governor, to become himself a farming settler.

With such powerful support, endorsed by influential men like Lord Delamere (shortly to become the settlers' spokesman), the policy of encouraging White settlement was soon put into effect.

Between 1905 and 1914 alone, nearly four and a half million acres of land were alienated, mostly for long periods on very low terms. Very large areas went to a few companies and individuals: 320,000 acres were allotted to one company alone, for example, and Lord Delamere himself received 100,000 acres.

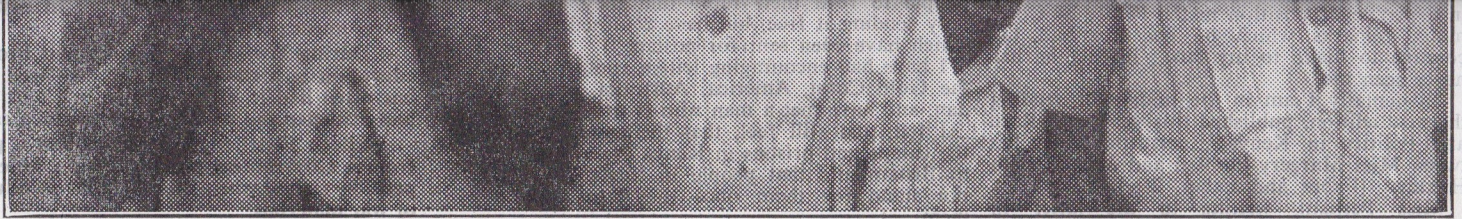
It is often suggested that the land was alienated in this wholesale manner because it was empty, and had no owner, or that it looked empty and that settlers who knew nothing of African systems of land-tenure and cultivation could not have been expected to realise that the land actually belonged to people who might not be actually cultivating it.

This apparent emptiness of much of the land was partly the result of a series of epidemics which had devastated both human and animal populations.

Moreover, the Africans practised a form of shifting-cultivation; a system of agriculture that requires that large amounts of land be left fallow in order that they may regain their fertility through resting.

Often as much as twenty and more times the amount of land actually being farmed is needed, but this reserve land is not occupied and cultivated. Nevertheless, it is essential to the system of agriculture, a very effective one

A group of Kikuyu children from the Kikuyu reserve as they came out of church, in 1953.



if practised with consistency, and one that is found the world over.

One of the results of this type of agriculture was that the land appeared to be empty and under-cultivated to European eyes.

And pastoral peoples, too, need extensive stretches of not very rich grassland which they would graze their flocks and herds over, and then move on, perhaps not returning for a lengthy period. But they would have to return.

Now the Europeans may have been ignorant of these things, but I think it is not unfair to say that even if they had understood them, they would not have been deterred from taking the land.

The outstanding illustration of this is the wholesale dispossession of the Laikipia Masai from their lands—a tragic tale of the expulsion of a whole people, with millions of cattle, sheep and goats in order to make way for European farmers.

This was not a question of ignorance; it was simply a case of getting land by moving the natives off it.

Very rapidly, White settlement became widespread; it was stimulated by further Government concessions and privileges, and was not resisted by the indigenous population, which did not even realise that it had lost its title to large areas. And unlike Uganda, Kenya contained no large centralised States which might have resisted the establishment of European rule and the alienation of the land.

The indigenous societies of Kenya, however, even if they possessed no centralised or even federal structure, were often on a very large scale, with common culture and institutions—notably the age-set system—which helped to bring the various sections of the same people into a wider unity.

It is thus ludicrous to talk of peoples like the Kikuyu, the Nandi, the Luhya or the Luo as "tribes" as if they were comparable to the Bushmen or the Australian Aborigines.

## Indian demands

KENYA was originally established as an entity by the British East Africa Company, but before very long the Company handed over control to the British Government, which established first a Protectorate, and later a Colony, as the system of administration and government.

Before long, Kenya settlers were demanding

the right to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Council to replace the system by which the Government appointed representatives of the settlers to the Legco. After 1919, this demand was stepped up; at this time there were some 9,000 settlers in the country.

When the European settlers were finally given this right, and Kenya became a Colony, other communities began to ask "Why can't we?"

The first to say this was the Indian community. They had been brought in from India to work as indentured labourers on the railway in large numbers, and when they had finished their contracts, did not want to go back.

Some tried farming, but the techniques required for farming in Kenya were very different from those suitable for India. Most of them found their way eventually into commerce.

Indians still traditionally control most of the small-scale commercial enterprises, fill the intermediate administrative posts, and in general occupy the middle position in society. Many of them nowadays, however, have also become extremely wealthy and influential.

In 1921, the Indians began pressing for the right to a common electoral roll with Europeans, in contrast to the "communal" type of electoral system in which each community has separate representatives, the system which still prevails in Kenya today.

This demand produced an enormous reaction from the European community.

They were even more alarmed by the Indian demands that they should have the right to own land in the "White" Highlands, that immigration from India should be facilitated, and so on.

The settlers thereupon set up a network of organisations designed to resist all these demands.

Under the leadership of Lord Delamere, they were formed into a "Convention of Associations." Plans were made for a military uprising on "Ulster" lines in the event of the Indian demands being acceded to by the Government. The Governor was to be kidnapped, and all strategic points occupied.

And these are the same men who today are posing as the defenders of law and constitutionalism in the face of terrorist violence!

The settlers ultimately got their way, as they always have done, with the assistance of local



# THE CAMPAIGN FOR

## A challenge to Britain

**B**EFORE my campaign started, I saw myself quietly writing a few articles and at the same time addressing a small number of meetings trying to rouse interest in the terrible conditions in the detention camps and prisons in Kenya.

The reality, however, was very different! Since Peace News, Tribune, and the Movement for Colonial Freedom helped me launch the campaign in May, 1956, I have hardly had a minute's peace.

My life has been a mad rush trying to keep up with all the demands made on me.

Since June I have addressed eighty-three meetings for twenty-one different organisations, from Southampton to Aberdeen, and from South Wales across to Hull, besides having many invitations I could not fulfil. I have also written articles, attended committees, given a great deal of evidence on which others have acted, and given many interviews to the Press.

I have conducted a vast correspondence, sometimes writing as many as twenty letters a day, and what with this, looking up trains and the travelling involved, I have sometimes wished I were a twin! I have slept in more than seventy strange beds, seen some lovely parts of Britain and met some very interesting people.

I have had many different votes of thanks, two of my favourites being: "We are grateful to this wee woman for stirring our consciences and for disturbing what would otherwise have been a pleasant Sunday afternoon", and "I'm sure you have all enjoyed the speaker's talk as much as I have, it's been quite horrifying".

As a result of my Peace News articles in May, I was invited to address a meeting in a Committee room in the House of Commons to which Members of Parliament and Press had been invited. The invitation was sent to members of all parties but only Labour Members came.

## Grateful

They gave up their last Supply Day of the Session for a full debate on Kenya which took place on June 6. I shall always be grateful to them, not only for the tremendous help they have given to Kenya and to me, but also for the way they have defended both my personal

and interviews, but have reported many of my meetings very fairly and at some length.

I am proud of the fact that I have been invited to speak on platforms with Fenner Brockway, Aneurin Bevan, and Dr. Donald Soper.

Members of the League of Empire Loyalists were present at three of my meetings and tried to break them up. They had no real interest in the subject, and no constructive criticism, and merely chanted idiotic phrases to interrupt the speaker.

An amusing incident happened at one meeting in the Midlands where they were expected to be present. The sponsors, taking precautions, had asked the Police to come in and out during the evening, and almost as soon as I started speaking I saw a policeman come in and stand under the balcony.

He stayed for a long time, then went out but returned almost immediately and stayed till the end. The caretaker told us he had gone out to say, "Can you shut the outside door, I can't hear properly."

## Kenya settlers

In one town the poster advertising my meeting had been pasted over with a streamer which said "Keep Kenya White", which throws an interesting light on the mentality of the persons who had it printed, for in Kenya Africans outnumber the Whites by about three hundred to one.

At four meetings, settlers or settlers' sons from Kenya were in the audience, and at one meeting a woman said if I had enough faith I would know that God would change the settlers' hearts in His own good time, and did not want me running up and down the country trying to help Him!

In another, a man who had held an important non-Government post in Kenya said he had given a report, that was very similar to mine, to the Governor and that if I went home and had a cup of coffee with him he "was sure we could sit up till midnight swapping atrocity stories".

Incidentally, he said that after giving his report to the Governor he had never been invited to Government House again, though before he had had frequent invitations.

After one meeting two separate little groups came to speak to me on the platform; one, a group of African students who said "Thank you for what you are doing for our people"; the other a group of German Jewish refugees who said "Thank you for all you are doing, we know what these conditions are, we have lived in them under Hitler". (I hope that Mr. Lennox-Boyd reads this.)

My pamphlet (a reprint of my first Peace News articles) sold out the whole edition.

At one meeting a girl got up and told us her brother had done his National Service in Kenya and that when he came home he had a nervous breakdown.

Once a teacher said that a boy from her school had gone to do his National Service in Kenya, some of the things he had been ordered to do had so horrified him that he refused and the army sent him home as a psychiatric case.

At a Midland meeting two men got up, one said he had been in the Kenya Police and had seen the kind of atrocities I described carried out, the other said he had recently retired from the Regular Army, part of his time had been served in Kenya and he wished he had had the courage to have told people of the things he had seen, for all I had said was true.

Further North, two mothers came and thanked me for what I had told them. "Our sons have come home from Kenya, they have never told us anything about their National Service there, but we wondered why their characters had changed, now after listening to you we know and we are grateful."

Soon after, a mother in the South of England said it ought to be known that the boys are trained to do these things. She said she had two sons, one home from Kenya, one from Egypt.

When she asked them how they could do the things they had told her they replied, "We are taught to, and anyhow they are only natives."

Soon after she told us this I read in the paper that a Brigadier Farquharson Roberts, speaking at an Annual dinner of the Royal Army Service Corps, said it was important for ex-service men to get together over the Middle East and Far East, rather than politicians, "for politicians don't know Orientals like we do, they don't know that the only way to deal with them is to kick their backsides."

No wonder the evils of colonialism spread

Only then are we justified in criticising foreign powers which deny such rights to their citizens.

## A challenge to the churches

**O**NE of my highlights was having tea with Father Huddleston. I envied him when he said his Church was behind him in his campaign for South Africa.

Although many members and groups of my own denomination have given me help and support for which I am very grateful, a small executive group has been against me and allowed two derogatory letters, published by two spokesmen, to go uncontradicted (an apology, which would be left to me to publish, was offered in the case of one letter only. This was not acceptable because an equivocal covering letter was added, and the second, more damaging letter was expressly excluded), in spite of the fact that they were used against me in the House of Commons by the Colonial Secretary.

For about two weeks this action retarded me in my campaign for two important people who had offered to help me, withdrew their offer.

Then fortunately the Christian Council of Kenya said publicly that one letter with which they were supposed to be in agreement had been written without their knowledge and that things had not all been put right, as the letter said.

They said they would welcome a Parliamentary Delegation and hoped that some members of it would be lawyers. The British Weekly helped me a great deal at this point and helped to make my work more widely known.

After the first two weeks the opposition of the small group referred to, acted as a

## By EILEEN FLETCHER

Eileen Fletcher's accounts of conditions in the prisons and detention camps of Kenya, which appeared in Peace News in May, 1956, formed, in large degree, the basis of Labour's case against the Government in the debate on Kenya in the House of Commons on June 6.

She went to Kenya in December, 1954, because she was concerned with conditions in Kenya as reported in the British Press, both of atrocities committed by the Mau Mau and by certain British people in suppressing the Mau Mau.

Eileen Fletcher was at first a Rehabilitation Officer in the Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation of the Kenya Government, and was later made Staff Officer in charge of Rehabilitation of Women and Girls in Detention Camps and Prisons throughout Kenya. She returned to England in March, 1956.

Eileen Fletcher has a Teaching Diploma, a Diploma in Social Science, and Certi-



helped me launch the campaign in May, 1956, I have hardly had a minute's peace.

My life has been a mad rush trying to keep up with all the demands made on me.

Since June I have addressed eighty-three meetings for twenty-one different organisations, from Southampton to Aberdeen, and from South Wales across to Hull, besides having many invitations I could not fulfil. I have also written articles, attended committees, given a great deal of evidence on which others have acted, and given many interviews to the Press.

I have conducted a vast correspondence, sometimes writing as many as twenty letters a day, and what with this, looking up trains and the travelling involved, I have sometimes wished I were a twin! I have slept in more than seventy strange beds, seen some lovely parts of Britain and met some very interesting people.

I have had many different votes of thanks, two of my favourites being: "We are grateful to this wee woman for stirring our consciences and for disturbing what would otherwise have been a pleasant Sunday afternoon", and "I'm sure you have all enjoyed the speaker's talk as much as I have, it's been quite horrifying".

As a result of my Peace News articles in May, I was invited to address a meeting in a Committee room in the House of Commons to which Members of Parliament and Press had been invited. The invitation was sent to members of all parties but only Labour Members came.

## Grateful

They gave up their last Supply Day of the Session for a full debate on Kenya which took place on June 6. I shall always be grateful to them, not only for the tremendous help they have given to Kenya and to me, but also for the way they have defended both my personal and my professional integrity from the cowardly attacks made by Mr. Lennox-Boyd in a privileged position in the House of Commons, remarks which he has not had the courage to make to my face; in fact he has never seen me.

Incidentally I am in the middle of reading the new edition, published this year, of "Race and Politics in Kenya", correspondence between Miss Margery Perham and Mrs. Elspeth Huxley. (Faber and Faber, 25s.)

Miss Perham, writing to the latter in January, 1943, made the following remark which I feel very applicable:

"Some people in Britain feel that neither the local nor the Imperial Government will stand up to the constant and inevitable pressure of the European settlers unless public opinion tries to produce some counter pressure in the interests of the largely voiceless and helpless African."

"Such critics have undertaken a thankless task. It earns them bitter antagonism from Kenya and attacks and attempts to discredit them in pro-settler newspapers. . . ."

"Personally, for the sake of my country's reputation as an Imperial Power, I think of them (and the members of Commissions and Committees) with respect and gratitude, and hope there will always be a succession of such people."

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sons have come home from Kenya, they have never told us anything about their National Service there, but we wondered why their characters had changed, now after listening to you we know and we are grateful."

## Kenya settlers

In one town the poster advertising my meeting had been pasted over with a streamer which said "Keep Kenya White", which throws an interesting light on the mentality of the persons who had it printed, for in Kenya Africans outnumber the Whites by about three hundred to one.

At four meetings, settlers or settlers' sons from Kenya were in the audience, and at one meeting a woman said if I had enough faith I would know that God would change the settlers' hearts in His own good time, and did not want me running up and down the country trying to help Him!

In another, a man who had held an important non-Government post in Kenya said he had given a report, that was very similar to mine, to the Governor and that if I went home and had a cup of coffee with him he "was sure we could sit up till midnight swapping atrocity stories".

Incidentally, he said that after giving his report to the Governor he had never been invited to Government House again, though before he had had frequent invitations.

After one meeting two separate little groups came to speak to me on the platform; one, a group of African students who said "Thank you for what you are doing for our people"; the other a group of German Jewish refugees who said "Thank you for all you are doing, we know what these conditions are, we have lived in them under Hitler". (I hope that Mr. Lennox-Boyd reads this.)

My pamphlet (a reprint of my first Peace News articles) sold out the whole edition, five thousand copies, although it cost a shilling. (The Government is so anxious for people to read their reply that they are not only sending it free, but have returned stamps which have been sent for postage!)

I have had encouraging letters about it from the Gold Coast, America, Australia, and Jordan, and have met a man who is translating it.

I felt, and still feel, that the conditions in the camps and prisons in Kenya are a disgrace to Britain and that people in England would not stand for them once they knew about them.

## Contradictions

Proof that I was right is shown by the tremendous interest aroused throughout the country, and the large number of invitations I have to speak at meetings of all descriptions.

A great many resolutions have been passed at these meetings and sent to the Colonial Secretary urging the Government to set up an independent judicial commission to enquire into the conduct of the Emergency in Kenya.

On a number of occasions before I came home in March, 1956, influential people and papers had asked for such an enquiry; it has always been refused.

During my campaign the request has been constantly repeated.

Now, at the end of December, we have had the contradictory statements made by Mr. Lennox-Boyd about the barring of the International Red Cross from Kenya state-

sons have come home from Kenya, they have never told us anything about their National Service there, but we wondered why their characters had changed, now after listening to you we know and we are grateful."

Soon after, a mother in the South of England said it ought to be known that the boys are trained to do these things. She said she had two sons, one home from Kenya, one from Egypt.

When she asked them how they could do the things they had told her they replied, "We are taught to, and anyhow they are only natives."

Soon after she told us this I read in the paper that a Brigadier Farquharson Roberts, speaking at an Annual Dinner of the Royal Army Service Corps, said it was important for ex-service men to get together over the Middle East and Far East, rather than politicians, "for politicians don't know Orientals like we do, they don't know that the only way to deal with them is to kick their backsides."

No wonder the evils of colonialism spread

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Eileen Fletcher has a Teaching Diploma, a Diploma in Social Science, and Certificates in Sanitary Science and Hygiene. She has many years' experience in teaching, including four years in teaching adults, and wide experience in lecturing and social work. She has spent four years in psychiatric social work and 14 in responsible Government posts.

During World War II she spent two years in Uganda in charge of welfare and education in a camp for 3,000 displaced Poles. In two of her Government posts she has often had to give evidence in Court, and is thus experienced in assessing people and evidence and making reports which can stand examination in Court.

Eileen Fletcher is a Quaker and a pacifist. During World War II she resigned from a Government post in Britain which she had held for ten years, thus losing all pension rights, when she was told to advise companies how to increase their output of war materials.

In addition to the Colonial Office's first memorandum on charges in Eileen Fletcher's articles in Peace News, the Colonial Office has in recent months issued two memoranda: "Kenya: Memorandum on Allegations Published by Miss Eileen Fletcher on Conditions in Prisons and Camps," and "Kenya: Further Memorandum on Allegations Published by Miss Eileen Fletcher on Conditions in Prisons and Camps." The Colonial Office has also issued her Statutory Declaration confirming her charges in Peace News and other documents under the title, "Report of my Period of Employment in the Community Department of the Kenya Government." These documents are available from the Colonial Office, Church House, Great Smith St., London, S.W.1.

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After the first two weeks the opposition of the small group referred to, acted as a

boomerang against itself, for they and the League of Empire Loyalists, are the only bodies which have opposed me, apart from Kenya settlers and the Government.

At nearly every meeting I have been asked by people in the audience why this denotation has taken this attitude and not been willing to help in the campaign for Kenya.

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"Such critics have undertaken a thankless task. It earns them bitter antagonism from Kenya and attacks and attempts to discredit them in pro-settler newspapers. . . .

"Personally, for the sake of my country's reputation as an Imperial Power, I think of them (and the members of Commissions and Committees) with respect and gratitude, and hope there will always be a succession of such people."

If I had written this I could have inserted after the words "pro-settler newspapers" the words, "and the Colonial Secretary!"

I am very grateful to the Press who have not only helped me in editorial comments



Public conveniences in Kenya bear signs "For Europeans," "Asians," or "Africans."

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On a number of occasions before I came home in March, 1956, influential people and papers had asked for such an enquiry; it has always been refused.

During my campaign the request has been constantly repeated.

Now, at the end of December, we have had the contradictory statements made by Mr. Lennox-Boyd about the barring of the International Red Cross from Kenya, statements moreover which do not agree with those reported from the International Red Cross headquarters in Geneva.

Readers will remember that I said in my pamphlet that detainees and convicts are not entitled to the rights they would have as prisoners of war: inspection by the International Red Cross is one such right.

I set out to tell as many people as I could about these things in as short a time as possible, I think I can claim to have done it.

I am most grateful for all the help I have had (moral and practical support) I urge readers to keep the matter in mind, for with Cyprus, Suez, and Hungary, we are getting satiated with horror.

The same pattern runs through all.

## A challenge to pacifists

NOW, perhaps more than at any other time, it is essential for us to engage in a positive peace programme which is really practical and effective.

We cannot contract out of the struggle against the forces of evil. A negative attitude may lead to apathy, we dare not be complacent.

The evils of non-pacifist methods have been brought out very strongly during this campaign.

In five different towns members of the audience told me they had relatives who were Kenya settlers and they were exactly as I described them.

work. She has spent four years in psychiatric social work and in responsible Government posts.

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so easily; no wonder we are now hated in so many countries.

In one London meeting a woman asked what ever sort of schools people had been to who could do such things as had been reported during court cases in Kenya in which Europeans had been charged with atrocities against Africans during the last two years.

Of course, I could not tell her but strangely enough the very next night in the Midlands, questions were asked about a young European officer who had been convicted of hanging Mau Mau suspects up with ropes round their necks, and placing lighted cigarettes in their ears, burning their ear drums to make them confess.

In the audience were boys from a nearby Public School who came to me after and said, of course, such things were accepted and it was only because I was a woman that I minded.

The widespread interest shown in Kenya (at five different meetings people had come from more than 30 miles away) has resulted in several meetings giving me part of the collection for any work I liked in Kenya and this has been added to by several private individuals.

As a result I have been able to hand over £13 6s. to the Salvation Army for the home they run in Nairobi for the children of detainees, and orphans.

A War on Want Group offered a regular weekly subscription for a period and I have put them in touch with a magnificent scheme that the Salvation Army is carrying out, training blind Africans to be independent. Another meeting donated £2 to Peace News.

As pacifists we must keep ourselves informed on affairs in other countries, press for enquiry where necessary, and urge our Members of Parliament to take action.

Our forefathers fought for the freedom and democracy which we enjoy.

We must fight with equal purpose and steadfastness, with peaceful weapons, that freedom and democracy may be established in all countries over which Britain has control.

boomerang against itself, for they and the League of Empire Loyalists, are the only bodies which have opposed me, apart from Kenya settlers and the Government.

At nearly every meeting I have been asked by people in the audience why this denomination has taken this attitude and not been willing to help in the campaign for Kenya.

People have also asked why the united Churches have not spoken out in Kenya against such things, for the only voice heard there has been that of the Church of Scotland. At one meeting I was even asked if it would not be a good idea to withdraw all the Missionaries till the end of the Emergency.

One man, who spoke against me, told me that he had been given first hand information of beatings-up in one camp and added "I wasn't going to stick my neck out."

I believe that if you have this knowledge and do nothing, you are as guilty as the people doing the evil.

Anyhow, for myself, I could not have kept silent over what I have seen and heard.

## Speak truth

Another said it was better to go quietly to the authorities and persuade them to put things right as in this way it is possible to remain friendly with the settlers also, and continue to work in Kenya.

I would say to such people: what is the value of remaining in the work if it means compromising your principles, and how is it possible to gain the trust of the African when as far as he knows, because he does not hear your quiet conversation with Authority, you are condoning the cruelties practised against him?

I believe that the things which I myself have seen and heard in Kenya, are not only a crime against humanity but a crime against God Himself, for they are done to people made in His Image, to people who are part of His Body.

Christ said "In as much as ye have done it to one of the least of these . . . ye have done it unto Me."



# KENYA

## A challenge to the Government

**I CHALLENGE** Mr. Lennox-Boyd to set up an independent judicial enquiry into the conduct of the Emergency in Kenya, to ask the International Red Cross to make a full official report on the camps and prisons after having questioned, in private, the convicts and detainees, or submit all the evidence which has been given, together with letters to Members of Parliament from detainees, to the committee on Human Rights at the United Nations.

I am prepared to give evidence on oath to any of these bodies.

In their reply to my charges the Government state, "it is significant that a statement has been omitted from her Statutory Declaration."

There is no significance in this. I reaffirm that I saw and heard all the things that I said I did, in my articles and speeches.

The Statutory Declaration was prepared in a great hurry so that I might discuss it with Mr. Dingle Foot, QC, who was about to leave the country for three months.

It would be quite contrary to all my religious beliefs and practices to say that some things I said were true because I made a statutory declaration on them, and others were not.

**All that I have said and written has been done in good faith and I have no reason to alter anything.**

I consider it very naive of the Government to say that they have asked the officers concerned if they committed or condoned brutalities and because they say no they are therefore proved innocent.

I think it is odd that they say two officers whom I said would support me, "they have been unable to trace" for both officers are living in Kenya, and are receiving a Government pension, so it seems strange their whereabouts could not be discovered.

### Missing letter

In their reply to my charges the Government say:

"In Miss Fletcher's letter to, and discussion with, the Chief Secretary she referred only to her personal affairs, and not as she states in her Tribune article to the treatment of her African staff."

Department it was a rule that reports were to be sent in each month.

Would any Government Department employ an officer for a year who did not obey such a rule?

I made written reports in my capacity as Staff Officer in charge of Women's Rehabilitation. In addition I saw Mr. Askwith frequently and made verbal reports to him.

He said he liked staff officers in charge of sections to have informal discussions with him, this I did. I also visited three camps with him.

The Government replies that the reports they have found are "routine" and bear no evidence that they are intended for any other purpose.

This is an odd statement for in them I mentioned unnecessary violence on the part of warders, oath taking ceremony in a juvenile compound with a risk of further Mau Mau contamination, difficulties between a Prison Commandant and his Rehabilitation Officers, and complaints that there had been immoral relations between warders and female detainees.

**Does the Government thus admit that these practices are "routine" in Kenya prisons?**

I think that any Head of a Department would consider it his duty to enquire into these reports without waiting for an officer newly out from England to tell him to do so. Moreover in a later report I stated "disquieting reports are coming in."

The Government has put these reports in the Appendix so cannot say they have not seen them.

"Miss Fletcher's report on Langata was made only eight days after she had been appointed. She had little or no experience of local conditions and her comments were somewhat superficial."

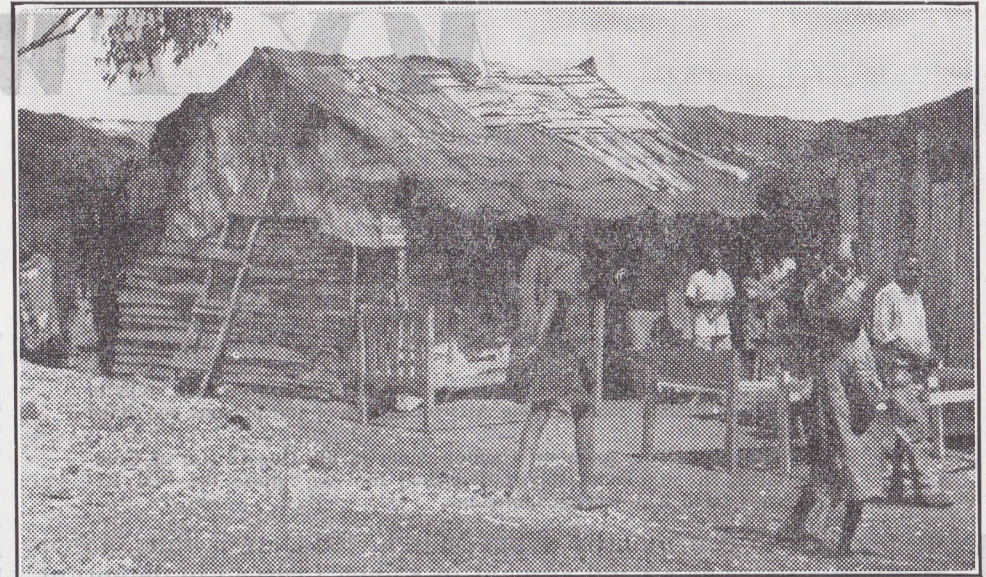
Yet this was the same week that they promoted me from being a Rehabilitation Officer in one camp, to being Staff Officer in charge of the rehabilitation of women and girls throughout the Colony!

### "Quite true"

"Miss Fletcher reports that where the father has a good job unaccompanied children under eight years might be left in the camp [Langata] and the fathers required to contribute to their maintenance."

This is quite untrue. I wrote "left in the Place of Safety." This is quite clear to anyone reading the report; it is in a separate paragraph. The preceding paragraph also states they should not be in the camp.

In their second reply they also quote from another of my reports urging that children



An African home in Kenya.

The camp at that time was run by Prisons Officers and a male Rehabilitation Officer all of whom belonged to the Moral Re-Armament Movement and they made it clear they would not welcome me.

They showed me an empty house and said no furniture was provided, next day they repeated this at Headquarters, to the male Staff Officer.

When challenged by being shown the file in which they had signed for a fully furnished house, they admitted that they had divided the furniture among the Prisons Officers, and that they wanted the house for the wife and children of one of the Prisons Officers who said he would not stay unless they could be brought out from England.

They also said that the women among whom I wanted to work had been sent back to Kamiti. This was found to be incorrect.

In view of these things I sent a written report to Mr. Askwith saying that in view of this behaviour I did not think it would work satisfactorily for me to be sent there; I asked him if he agreed.

He then asked me to draw up a scheme by which I could return to Kamiti.

I drew up three alternative plans, and said that it would be essential to have access to him "as there were still some questionable practices in prisons."

He discussed the schemes with the Kamiti staff and the Commissioner of Prisons, later he told me to ask the Assistant Commissioner, Miss Shepherd, the result.

She told me that although it was agreed my schemes were good they could not be put into practice at the moment as the Screening Officer

letters of thanks after they were released and, in fact, "she received innumerable letters from them."

It is not surprising that she received letters for any prisoner is grateful to a person he thinks has power to order his release or detention.

**What is surprising is that they say "innumerable letters," for the Commandant told me ninety-five per cent of the women were illiterate!**

The Government says no girl was sentenced to fifteen years. I have the prison number and particulars of one sentenced on several charges, the sentences to run consecutively, the total was fifteen years.

### Young girls

Readers will also remember all the replies given by Mr. Lennox-Boyd about the ages of the girls:

First there were no girls in prison under fourteen; it would be illegal. On May 19 the Governor of Kenya cabled there were six girls at Kamiti under fourteen, and May 29 there was an inaccuracy in the prison records; the ages had been altered "by an unknown person for an unknown purpose."

The girls were examined by the European Medical Officer and by three women of their own Tribe.

The Government Reply shows four girls to have been under fourteen when sentenced, these four records have not been altered.

The Medical Officer estimates that five were under fourteen when sentenced.

Yet the Government ignores both the record and the Medical Officer's estimate and



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## Missing letter

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*"In Miss Fletcher's letter to, and discussion with, the Chief Secretary she referred only to her personal affairs, and not as she states in her Tribune article to the treatment of her African staff."*

This is not true. The Government have attached only one letter. There were two. On four occasions, in accordance with the regulations, I wrote to Mr. Askwith, the Commissioner for Community Development and Rehabilitation, asking him to arrange for me to see the Chief Secretary, he refused.

I then wrote the second letter and took the precaution of sending copies to the Chief Secretary and to the Chief Establishment Officer at the Treasury.

In my presence the Establishment Officer rang up my department to know why my request had still not been dealt with and shortly after I was granted an interview with the Chief Secretary.

I took with me both letters (copies of which are in my possession) and discussed them both. I also discussed both my personal affairs and the fact that my African staff were not paid at the proper time with Mr. Havelock, the Minister for Health and Local Government.

At that time I thought he was my Member in Legislative Council. I have in my possession the report I prepared, at his request, for him to discuss with the Chief Secretary; it mentions the case of my African staff. I also have a letter from the Chief Secretary saying that Mr. Havelock has had a discussion with him.

I also had a long talk with Mr. Havelock about the department of Community Development.

I challenge the Colonial Secretary to ask him what his views on the Department were, and why he got the British Red Cross to send out welfare workers to work in the villages.

Incidentally just before my interview with

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In their second reply they also quote from another of my reports urging that children should be left in the camps with their mothers. This is quite different from leaving unaccompanied children there.

*"There was no camp with only 16 blankets."*

I admit that I worded this charge badly, the sixteen blankets were for the thirty-one unaccompanied children, not for the whole camp.

Their statement that there were plenty of blankets in the camp store is incorrect. It was the senior woman Prisons Officer who made the report to me and asked me to get some more for her.

Her husband was in charge of the camp store and would have known if there were any there.

I discussed the matter with the Commissioner of Prisons, Mr. Lewis, who was very courteous and always willing to help me. He said there were plenty in the Headquarters Store and he would have them issued to the camp in question.

## Why re-organised?

*"Miss Fletcher resigned because she objected to her work being re-organised."*

It was re-organised because I was trying to get abuses put right. I stated in writing that the re-organisation would hamper my work and I also gave verbal illustrations. I mentioned that I was being obstructed by a particular officer.

This was not accepted but it is interesting to note that a person claiming to be a long standing friend of the officer in question has written to the Kenya Weekly News saying "Miss Fletcher is only behaving in this catty manner because she has been pushed out."

The Government say I was offered three assignments and that I refused them. This

of whom belonged to the Moral Re-Armament Movement and they made it clear they would not welcome me.

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She told me that although it was agreed my schemes were good they could not be put into practice at the moment as the Screening Officer would not agree. (It was because of this woman officer that I had had to leave Kamiti before.)

Mr. Askwith then arranged for me to do a special piece of work with the District Commissioner of Naivasha who was asked by the Staff Officer to book me a room at the hotel there on a monthly basis.

**I had already been working there two days taking over from the officer who had been there temporarily, when I was told to go back to Nairobi. There I was told that I must stop work at once as the Treasury had not agreed to my resignation being withdrawn.**

The Establishment Officer at the Treasury told me there was nothing against me but that the Department had omitted to send it in within the proper period and when they did forward it Mr. Askwith had not added the necessary recommendation.

I have a letter from Mr. Askwith telling me he is very glad I am withdrawing it and he will recommend it be accepted and that I continue in my work.

Soon after this incident the Auditor General's report was published in which he said the Department of Community Development was completely unable to manage its finances and was completely overdrawn.

## 'Valuable work'

*"Miss Fletcher's success is entirely in her own opinion." "Detainees say they did not like her." "In Miss Fletcher's time another officer was responsible for the work and submitted the reports, Miss Fletcher only visited from time to time."*

All these replies are completely untrue. I

them. It is not surprising that she received letters for any prisoner is grateful to a person he thinks has power to order his release or detention.

**What is surprising is that they say "innumerable letters," for the Commandant told me ninety-five per cent of the women were illiterate!**

The Government says no girl was sentenced to fifteen years. I have the prison number and particulars of one sentenced on several charges, the sentences to run consecutively, the total was fifteen years.

## Young girls

Readers will also remember all the replies given by Mr. Lennox-Boyd about the ages of the girls:

First there were no girls in prison under fourteen; it would be illegal. On May 19 the Governor of Kenya cabled there were six girls at Kamiti under fourteen, and May 29 there was an inaccuracy in the prison records; the ages had been altered "by an unknown person for an unknown purpose."

The girls were examined by the European Medical Officer and by three women of their own Tribe.

**The Government Reply shows four girls to have been under fourteen when sentenced, these four records have not been altered.**

**The Medical Officer estimates that five were under fourteen when sentenced.**

**Yet the Government ignores both the record and the Medical Officer's estimate and accepts that of the Kikuyu women who say all were over fourteen.**

Yet in paragraph 22 of their Reply, the Government says, "In Court proceedings the benefit of any doubt as to age is always given to the accused person."

This does not appear to be consistent with taking the higher ages given by the Kikuyu women, especially as the reason for the confusion over ages is that the Kikuyu do not know them.

They go on to say, "They were sentenced by Courts whose obligation it is to satisfy themselves as to the age of the accused person before they can pass sentence of imprisonment." But the four unaltered cases all show ages under fourteen.

Then they say, "A person under the age of fourteen convicted of a capital charge must be sentenced to be detained during the Governor's Pleasure and may be held on his direction in a prison."

"Sentences are reviewed every four years and life sentences are not usually commuted till eight years have been served." This is what I said!

They deny that the "lifers" sentenced to solitary confinement were juveniles, and say they were women; this is untrue, the women were in a separate class and were all long sentence women, there were no lifers among them.

**I have the copy of my report showing the two groups chosen by the Commandant and I also have all the prison numbers of the women and the juveniles.**

The reply states that they were sentenced not only for singing Mau Mau hymns but "for incitement to mutiny." Odd that this is not mentioned in the letter written to me by the



attached only one letter. There were two. On four occasions, in accordance with the regulations, I wrote to Mr. Askwith, the Commissioner for Community Development and Rehabilitation, asking him to arrange for me to see the Chief Secretary, he refused.

I then wrote the second letter and took the precaution of sending copies to the Chief Secretary and to the Chief Establishment Officer at the Treasury.

In my presence the Establishment Officer rang up my department to know why my request had still not been dealt with and shortly after I was granted an interview with the Chief Secretary.

I took with me both letters (copies of which are in my possession) and discussed them both. I also discussed both my personal affairs and the fact that my African staff were not paid at the proper time with Mr. Havelock, the Minister for Health and Local Government.

At that time I thought he was my Member in Legislative Council. I have in my possession the report I prepared, at his request, for him to discuss with the Chief Secretary; it mentions the case of my African staff. I also have a letter from the Chief Secretary saying that Mr. Havelock has had a discussion with him.

I also had a long talk with Mr. Havelock about the department of Community Development.

**I challenge the Colonial Secretary to ask him what his views on the Department were, and why he got the British Red Cross to send out welfare workers to work in the villages.**

Incidentally just before my interview with him, the Chief Secretary saw a colleague of mine who had a grudge against me.

He told me that this man had stated that I did not get on with my colleagues, and when I said I could refute this by bringing to him some of them who had offered to support me, he refused to allow me to do so.

## Missing report

*"No progress Report for January, 1955, by Miss Fletcher has been found. Only four reports from her have been found. These are routine reports and bear no evidence that they were designed for any other purpose."*

I submitted a Progress Report for January, 1955, a copy of it is in my possession. In the

This is quite different from leaving unaccompanied children there.

*"There was no camp with only 16 blankets."*

I admit that I worded this charge badly, the sixteen blankets were for the thirty-one unaccompanied children, not for the whole camp.

Their statement that there were plenty of blankets in the camp store is incorrect. It was the senior woman Prisons Officer who made the report to me and asked me to get some more for her.

Her husband was in charge of the camp store and would have known if there were any there.

I discussed the matter with the Commissioner of Prisons, Mr. Lewis, who was very courteous and always willing to help me. He said there were plenty in the Headquarters Store and he would have them issued to the camp in question.

## Why re-organised?

*"Miss Fletcher resigned because she objected to her work being re-organised."*

It was re-organised because I was trying to get abuses put right. I stated in writing that the re-organisation would hamper my work and I also gave verbal illustrations. I mentioned that I was being obstructed by a particular officer.

This was not accepted but it is interesting to note that a person claiming to be a long standing friend of the officer in question has written to the Kenya Weekly News saying "Miss Fletcher is only behaving in this catty manner because she has been pushed out."

**The Government say I was offered three assignments and that I refused them. This is completely untrue. Mr. Askwith first asked me if I would go to Narok.**

I said I preferred working with "blacks" (the African detainees were graded "white," "grey" and "black," the latter were considered the "hard core"), that they were the ones with whom I had been successful, they were the ones that I felt needed most help, and they were the ones most workers did not like working with.

I therefore suggested going to Athi River where the "blacks" from Kamiti had been temporarily transferred.

He agreed, sent the Commandant notice that I was being posted there, and I went out to make preliminary arrangements.

Mr. Askwith then arranged for me to do a special piece of work with the District Commissioner of Naivasha who was asked by the Staff Officer to book me a room at the hotel there on a monthly basis.

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All these replies are completely untrue. I have letters from the Commissioner saying, "I shall be very happy for you to continue your work at Kamiti which I consider most valuable."

"Thank you for your valuable suggestions." "This [report] is excellent." "This is most interesting, I suggest it is cyclostyled and presented to the Advisory Committee and that you present it to the (African) Chiefs."

I also wrote in my letter to the Chief Secretary, forwarded through Mr. Askwith, a number of congratulatory remarks made by the Commandant of the Prison and of appreciative remarks made by the women convicts and detainees.

I have a copy of the report in which they are embodied and a letter from the Assistant Commandant of the Prison (who was the wife of the Commandant) saying how interested she was to read it and is glad I am to enlarge the scheme.

If I made it all up it seems odd that none of these people commented on it at the time!

The "other officer" they refer to was my African Assistant.

It is untrue to say I only went from time to time. I visited every afternoon for three months, spending the whole of each afternoon establishing my Pilot Scheme on Rehabilitation. During this time I also went on six Saturday afternoons and on several Sundays for the whole day.

They say the woman screening officer was so popular with the women they sent her

Yet in paragraph 22 of their Reply, the Government says, "In Court proceedings the benefit of any doubt as to age is always given to the accused person."

This does not appear to be consistent with taking the higher ages given by the Kikuyu women, especially as the reason for the confusion over ages is that the Kikuyu do not know them.

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**I have the copy of my report showing the two groups chosen by the Commandant and I also have all the prison numbers of the women and the juveniles.**

The reply states that they were sentenced not only for singing Mau Mau hymns but "for incitement to mutiny." Odd that this is not mentioned in the letter written to me by the Commandant (which I still have) and that he only mentions the minor charge.

**The reply also states there are only two juveniles sentenced to the term of the Governor's pleasure. I have the prison numbers and particulars of seven, where are the other five?**

The Government is incorrect in saying that the juveniles were segregated and there was no risk of contamination.

## Juveniles

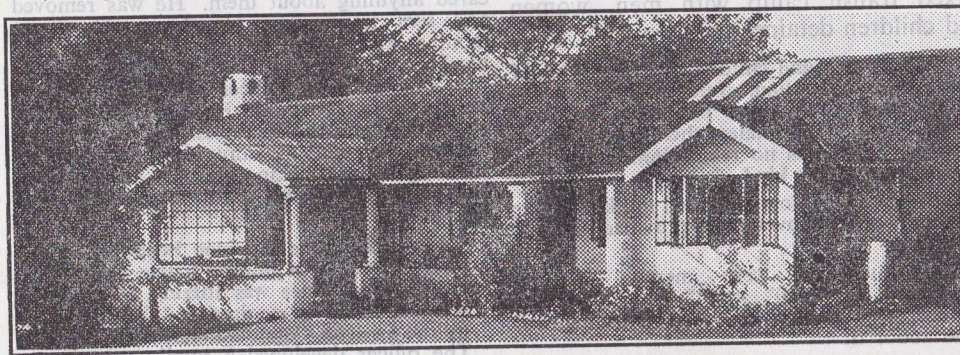
There was a woman of sixty in the juvenile class and the Government's reply shows that girls on pass offences were in the compound with the Mau Mau ones.

They boast that the juveniles have all the facilities of an Approved School; this is because I started it, there was nothing till I did. Also they give the particulars of teachers, etc., as if they worked entirely with these girls, whereas most of their time was spent with the detainees who were in a separate part.

*"Cultivation of vegetables is the hardest work done by the women and girls."*

This is not true. In addition to the building done by the girls, women were engaged breaking up large tree roots with large parts of the trunks attached. I was present at a meeting when a woman prison visitor reported this.

Before her marriage she had been a mid-



A typical European settler's house in Kenya.



# MY TWO YEARS IN

Philip Reginald Meldon was a civil servant in Kenya from March 1954 until May 1956. He did rehabilitation work at Marigat Camp, Rift Valley Province as an Officer of the Kenya Police Reserve, and later joined the Department of Community Development of the Kenya Government.

He is a Roman Catholic and was educated at Downside School. Mr. Meldon is the grandson of the late Sir Albert Meldon, who was a member of the Irish Bar.

From 1945 to 1947 he was Commandant of the displaced persons camp in the British Sector of Berlin. Since the war he has travelled widely in Australia and the Far East. It was while in Malaya that he became interested in rehabilitation work after observing the work of General Templar and others which he regarded as "brilliant."

It was because of this interest that shortly after reaching Kenya he took steps to become active in rehabilitation work among African detainees and persons convicted of Mau Mau offences.

Mr. J. B. W. Breckenridge, Assistant Commissioner in the Department of Community Development, in an official report described him as "quite the best Rehabilitation Officer I have had serving under me."

**F**OR the first fifteen months (from March, 1954, until June, 1955) of my two years as a Civil Servant in Kenya I served in detention camps for Kikuyu. I was first a Kenya Police Reserve Officer attached to the Prisons Department and later a Rehabilitation Officer in the Department of Community Development.

**I now want to make public in Peace News for the first time the conditions I saw in these camps. This is a story which many people will find hard to believe, but which is nevertheless true.**

Before I relate the sordid conditions which I encountered during those months in Kenya, it is essential to have some background of the Kikuyu rehabilitation problem.

The detention camps were roughly divided into three types. There were the holding camps where detainees were first brought after they had been placed under a Detention Order signed by a District Commissioner. Camps of this type were at Manyani and Mackinnon Road, which together held approximately 25,000 detainees.

From these camps the detainees were sent either "down the line" to the notorious Detention Camps such as Manda Island, or "up the line" to Works Camps where they underwent a period of rehabilitation.

The Africans, all Kikuyu, against whom detention orders were issued, were persons whom the authorities believed were in some way connected with Mau Mau, but against whom nothing could be proved.

The object of rehabilitation is to get the

sonality and ability to convince the man that his past way of life is wrong.

**The Rehabilitation Officer must by his example gain the complete confidence of the detainees until they realise that he is there to help and guide them and that the Kikuyu need help badly.**

This is not an easy job. It requires much patience and, even more important, intelligence and imagination.

It is because of these important conditions for genuine rehabilitation that the attitudes, conditions and events which I report below are so tragic.

They made genuine rehabilitation extremely difficult, in addition to the questions of simple humanity and justice.

The problem facing the Kenya Government was vast. The Emergency had resulted in nearly all of the Kikuyu being tainted in some degree by Mau Mau.

The rehabilitation of these people and offering them a more hopeful outlook on life was a problem of vital importance to the future of Kenya, as the Kikuyu are the largest, most intelligent and hardworking of all the peoples of Kenya, and are absolutely essential to the economy of the country.

**Tragically, this responsibility was not met, and the opportunity was lost.**

The first great mistake made by the Kenya Government was the placing of the detention camps under the administration of the Prisons

and the detainees were happy and contented. Province visited the camp but did not look around, and no improvements were made.

**Despite the brilliant work being done by this Commandant and his wife, no support was forthcoming from the Staff Officer of the Works Camps in Rift Valley Province, who was responsible for all the works camps in the Province.**

This Officer intrigued so openly against the Commandant that rehabilitation work came almost to a standstill.

Under this Staff Officer's jurisdiction was a camp of 2,000 detainees at Makutano. There always seemed to be trouble there and the Commandant of Marigat paid several official visits there to investigate.

The facts uncovered by this investigation were that the detainees were being systematically ill-treated, underfed, over-worked and flogged by the Security Officer. There was no rehabilitation of any kind.

One of the main sources of difficulty at Marigat was the Agricultural Officer who had been appointed to the irrigation scheme on which detainees were working.

On two occasions I was called down to where the detainees were working at about mid-day.

I found the detainees on a "sit-down strike" and on the verge of mutiny.

This Officer was in the habit of giving the detainees an allotted task which they understood to be their day's work, and then when they had completed it would double the amount of work he demanded.

He knew nothing of handling Africans and despite repeated warnings from the Commandant made no attempt to deal with his African labourers properly.

In August, after I was moved to Gilgil Camp, which was also located in Rift Valley Province, another Prison Officer in Marigat Camp took over my duties there. This Officer detested Africans.

**It was he who on one occasion, when the Commandant was away from the camp, handcuffed for 12 hours an educated Kikuyu called Rogers Komo for no apparent reason and kept him without food or water.**

On his return to the camp, the Commandant immediately released Rogers Komo. The Prison Officer thereupon said to the Commandant, "If that's rehabilitation, you can stuff it."

After the Commandant had left Marigat in October 1954 on his way to Embu District as Chief Rehabilitation Officer, he tried to get about 100 or more detainees in Marigat Camp, whom he considered fit for release, transferred

The Staff Officer in charge of Works Camps in the Rift Valley Province told me that this was an excellent camp with a first-class Commandant in charge. In view of these remarks, I thought it pointless to make any official complaints about the camp.

In September 1954 I left Gilgil to go to Jeannes School, Kabete, to learn Swahili before becoming a Rehabilitation Officer under the Department of Community Development.

## **"Rehabilitation nonsense"**

**I**N September, 1954, I was transferred to the Department of Community Development as a Rehabilitation Officer. In this capacity I was appointed in October to the Tebere Works Camp in the Embu District.

At that time there were five or six camps operating out of a planned 16.

Here I was again serving under the excellent former Commandant of Marigat Camp who was now Chief Rehabilitation Officer in Embu District.

I found the situation in Tebere Camp when I arrived on October 25, 1954, very bad.

**There were about 1,000 detainees, all of whom seemed to be complete adherents to Mau Mau. They were sullen and resentful, saying their prayers night and morning as they faced Mount Kenya, and still believing in Jomo Kenyatta, imprisoned Kikuyu leader.**

Their attitude to Mau Mau was not helped by the Prison Officer in the Camp. A "concentration camp" atmosphere prevailed. One Officer carried a whip.

"Forced labour" conditions were in evidence as one European Officer made the detainees work at pointless hard labour tasks 12 hours a day, and usually on Sundays as well.

I later regulated the hours of work for the detainees, forbidding Saturday afternoon and Sunday work.

The first night after my arrival I carried out a short rehabilitation programme in the camp. The next morning I was summoned peremptorily to the Commandant's office.

"About this rehabilitation nonsense," he said to me in an offensive manner.



Department of Community Development.

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The Africans, all Kikuyu, against whom detention orders were issued, were persons whom the authorities believed were in some way connected with Mau Mau, but against whom nothing could be proved.

The object of rehabilitation is to get the detainees to confess their Mau Mau oaths so that a new approach to life can be inculcated.

To the Kikuyu these oaths mean a great deal; they had become associated with their old religion which entails saying their prayers to and facing Mount Kenya, their traditional god.

The Kikuyu are an intensely religious tribe and religion, whether Christian or other, plays an important part in their lives.

To confess Mau Mau oaths puts a great mental strain on the person confessing. After he has confessed, something must be offered which can replace his former beliefs. That something is, of course, Christianity.

I believe in the importance of a genuine rehabilitation programme for such people as the Kikuyu who had become contaminated with Mau Mau.

**A crucial question in such rehabilitation work is this: What makes a man want to confess Mau Mau?**

I concluded during my work among the African detainees that the answer to that question lies in the Rehabilitation Officer, his per-

sonality and ability to convince the man that his past way of life is wrong.

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Some of these officers carried whips and beat any detainee they happened to dislike. Others merely displayed the poverty of their mental processes by bawling and shouting at the Africans.

## **Constructive Rehabilitation**

**I**N March, 1954, I had the good fortune to be posted to Marigat detention camp, the only detention camp in Kenya where at that time sense seemed to prevail. This camp was run by a former Kenya farmer, and his wife, both of whom had a deep knowledge and affection for the Africans.

**Here, really constructive rehabilitation work was in progress, the first in Kenya,**

which detainees were working.

On two occasions I was called down to where the detainees were working at about mid-day.

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After the Commandant had left Marigat in October 1954 on his way to Embu District as Chief Rehabilitation Officer, he tried to get about 100 or more detainees in Marigat Camp, whom he considered fit for release, transferred to an open village which he intended to build for them at Embu.

These efforts were strongly resisted by the Provincial Commissioner and the Staff Officer of the Works Camps in Rift Valley Province, for no valid reason, it appeared, other than that they detested rehabilitation.

**Eventually these detainees were sent on their way to Embu, but while on the road the whole lot were re-arrested on the orders of the Provincial Commissioner.**

They were subjected to another "screening", and the majority of them were classified "black"—as hardened Mau Mau supporters—and sent to Manyani Camp. These detainees were completely fit for release and the whole thing was a "put-up" job.

I later met some of these men, whom I had known at Marigat, in the Manyani Camp. They told me that they had been subjected to unnecessarily harsh treatment, especially Rogers Komo. Rogers Komo had at an earlier date reported the Commandant of the Nakuru Transit Camp to his superiors for brutality to the detainees there.

The plight of detainees in the detention camps in Rift Valley Province during 1954 and 1955, except for those in Marigat Camp, included short rations, overwork, brutality, humiliating and disgusting treatment and flogging—all in violation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The two Officers responsible for these conditions, made no attempt to see that

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"About this rehabilitation nonsense," he said to me in an offensive manner.

"It's not nonsense," I replied.

"Well, it looks like a lot of bloody nonsense to me."

"If that's your attitude, I regret I cannot carry on this conversation any further," I said and walked out.

One evening later I had arranged a "Ngoma"—an African tribal dance—inside the wire enclosure of the compound. It was just 7 p.m. and dark. Two circles of men were dancing round to the music from an accordion when I heard a noise at the main gate.

**I went towards the gate. It suddenly opened and the Commandant charged at me, grabbing me by the shirt and shouting in a paroxysm of fury, "Get out, you bloody fool," about four times.**

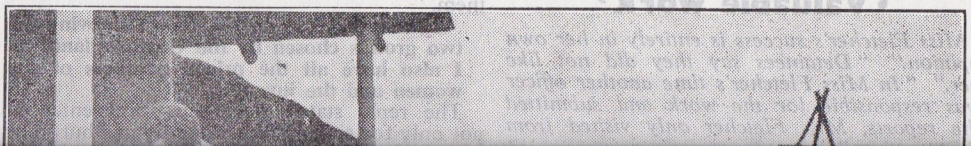
He then rushed at the detainees waving his arms wildly and hurling abuse at them. They fled back to their huts.

He then returned to me, accompanied by another Prison Officer and the Works Supervisor who was carrying a whip. I was subjected to a tirade of abuse.

At one time, I thought I was about to be assaulted. The notice board outside my office was torn up, and the keys to my office seized.

I was then for the second time subjected to abuse during which the Commandant put his face to within an inch of mine and screamed at me several times, "This is a prison, you bloody fool."

The Embu District Commissioner said that





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In the background is the Teachers' Training College under construction as seen before the Emergency. Located at Githunguri, Kenya, near Jomo Kenyatta's home, it was built to train African teachers for the Independent Schools. Money for this and office buildings was subscribed by the Kikuyu people and no grants or assistance was received from the Government.

Workmen in the foreground are erecting one of the school buildings. When the Emergency was declared, the Teachers' Training College and the Independent Schools were taken over by the Government and run under the supervision of the District Education Boards.

to an open village which they intended to build for them at Embu.

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The two Officers responsible for these conditions, made no attempt to see that the detention camps were administered in a humane and decent manner, and were guilty of severe neglect of their responsibilities.

Even Prison Officers were given no instruction in their duties.

## Appalling conditions in "first-class camp"

IN August, 1954, I began my duties in Gilgil Camp. Here I found conditions appalling. It was a mixed transit camp with men, women and children detainees.

The women and children, in conditions of severe overcrowding, were sleeping on the bare stone or wooden floors as the Commandant had forbidden them to construct beds. There was no rehabilitation work or recreation of any kind.

Lady Eleanor Cole supplied milk for the children, but the Government provided virtually nothing.

The lavatories were merely pits in the ground about 20" x 14" x 12" with the excreta lapping over the top. Nothing was done about it.

The Provincial Commissioner of Rift Valley

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"Well, it looks like a lot of bloody nonsense to me."

"If that's your attitude, I regret I cannot carry on this conversation any further," I said and walked out.

One evening later I had arranged a "Ngoma"—an African tribal dance—inside the wire enclosure of the compound. It was just 7 p.m. and dark. Two circles of men were dancing round to the music from an accordion when I heard a noise at the main gate.

I went towards the gate. It suddenly opened and the Commandant charged at me, grabbing me by the shirt and shouting in a paroxysm of fury, "Get out, you bloody fool," about four times.

He then rushed at the detainees waving his arms wildly and hurling abuse at them. They fled back to their huts.

He then returned to me, accompanied by another Prison Officer and the Works Supervisor who was carrying a whip. I was subjected to a tirade of abuse.

At one time, I thought I was about to be assaulted. The notice board outside my office was torn up, and the keys to my office seized.

I was then for the second time subjected to abuse during which the Commandant put his face to within an inch of mine and screamed at me several times, "This is a prison, you bloody fool."

The Embu District Commissioner settled this matter the following day.

Despite the District Commissioner's intervention, the Commandant remained at the camp. I later tried to interest him in rehabilitation work, but it was quite useless. He obstructed my work more and more and finally the District Commissioner removed him.

Although there was a directive from the Prisons Department which said that no action was to be taken which affected the lives of the detainees without consulting the Rehabilitation Officer, the Commandant never once consulted me, nor did any other Prison Officer at any time.

This Commandant was not in the least interested in the Africans. He neither knew nor cared anything about them. He was removed and sent to a camp elsewhere. About six months later I met him in Nairobi. He told me he had been appointed a District Officer!

A new Security Officer was appointed for Tebere after Christmas. He began by bawling and shouting at the detainees. He went around the camp punching any detainee he saw standing up and kicking the ones sitting down, knocking them down again when they stood up.

He kicked one detainee head-first into a large container of boiling maize meal which a Kikuyu detainee was stirring. The officer was later severely reprimanded for this action by the District Commissioner.

The officer developed a totally unnecessary habit of firing guns at all hours. On one



# KENYA

By Philip R. Meldon

occasion he went around the outside of the wire enclosure firing a Sten gun.

I moved around on the inside next to him to prevent him firing into the camp itself, as I knew he would have done, and possibly injuring the detainees. He detested Africans and everything to do with them.

After Christmas, 1954, a new Commandant and an assistant for him were appointed. He was virtually impossible to deal with, and his assistant once ordered me to leave the camp. I declined the suggestion.

I saw the Commandant punching and kicking detainees, and felt that I had to follow him around the camp at roll call each night to prevent him from doing so.

He openly obstructed the rehabilitation work I was attempting to do and kept to the letter of the law with regard to every instruction he received from the Prisons Department, making no attempt to apply the instructions intelligently.

Forced by the circumstances, I issued an instruction to the detainees that they were to report to me immediately any case of assault on them by European or African Prison Staff.

I felt I could not leave the camp for any length of time, fearing an assault by the European staff on the Kikuyu detainees.

The Security Officer, mentioned before, who flogged detainees at Makutano camp in the Rift Valley Province, again flogged them at another camp in the Embu District, and later in the Kiambu District.

The responsibility for the scandalous conduct of the officers of the Prisons Department in Embu District must rest with the Commissioner for Prisons.

There was no effective supervision of Prison Officers. They received no training and nobody bothered to see that they ever kept the law. They were incompetent and ignorant.

Prison Officers who were removed from Embu District for brutality or misconduct were merely posted to another one where they carried on their former activities. It was only after they had done a "grand tour" of every district in Kenya that they were "sacked" altogether.

During the six months at Tebere camp I made frequent reports of the brutalities and irregularities and, as a result, Prison Officers were removed to other districts, only to be replaced with men usually worse than the ones removed.

Most of the Prison Officers were implacable in their hatred and contempt of rehabilitation work and openly obstructed it.

One of these officers was a former Army officer from the Army Records Branch, with no knowledge of handling Africans. He openly admitted to me that he hated them.

The second, as far as I could make out, had been a civilian clerk in the British Army in the Middle East Headquarters. He, too, had no experience in handling Africans.

Despite their lack of experience, both were convinced they knew all the answers.

The third was a youth of 21, just out from England, who tried hard, but really had no inclination for the job.

The Senior Rehabilitation Officer, who had no training, never went into a compound of any camp and never approached an African.

He appeared to be under the impression that, provided certain purely mechanical steps were carried out, a rehabilitated Kikuyu would come out on the conveyor belt at the other end!

He spread his assistants out all over the camp, instead of concentrating them on one compound at a time. His own African staff complained to me frequently about the way he treated them.

The Screening Officer was also without training for his job, or knowledge of handling Africans. One of his favourite remarks was, "Any . . . idiot can run a works camp." He had never run one.

Neither of these officers realised the importance of a "link-up" in order to obtain the best results between rehabilitation work and screening—by which process Africans were declared fit to go to a works camp or to be sent down to detention camps such as Manda Island.

Therefore, the results from rehabilitation and screening were merely negative.

There were about 60 European officers at Manyani at the time and not one, including the Rehabilitation Officers, had the least interest in the Africans as persons.

The camp was once visited by a Senior Officer of the Department of Community Development. No improvements were made, which is hardly surprising, since the officer knew nothing about the job and had had no practical rehabilitation experience.

The atmosphere of the Manyani camp was, to say the least, depressing. There were 18,000 detainees, sullen and resentful, with little or no work to do, being shouted at, seemingly incessantly, by the European and African Prison

The men responsible were never brought before a Magistrate, and, to the best of my knowledge, are still Kenya Government employees.

Later I went to the CID Headquarters in Nairobi intending to charge the officer concerned with assault. I was informed that nothing could be done as they were Civil Servants, and, therefore, it was a departmental matter!

The Senior Rehabilitation Officer referred to above was highly thought of by the Commissioner for Community Development. A senior officer of the department said of him, "Jolly efficient chap . . . !"

There was a plan to promote him to a senior post in the Department of Community Development. Only because of the refusal of the Chief Rehabilitation Officer of Embu District to discuss any matter with this officer if he were promoted was the plan dropped.

The Chief Rehabilitation Officer of Embu District also refused to have either that man or the Screening Officer referred to above working under him.

All rehabilitation staff were withdrawn from Manyani camp in January, 1955, and, to the best of my knowledge, there have been none posted there since that date.

This means that since April, 1954, the African detainees at Manyani camp—who numbered nearly 18,000 when I was there—have had either very little or no rehabilitation work done with them. This is a scandalous state of affairs.

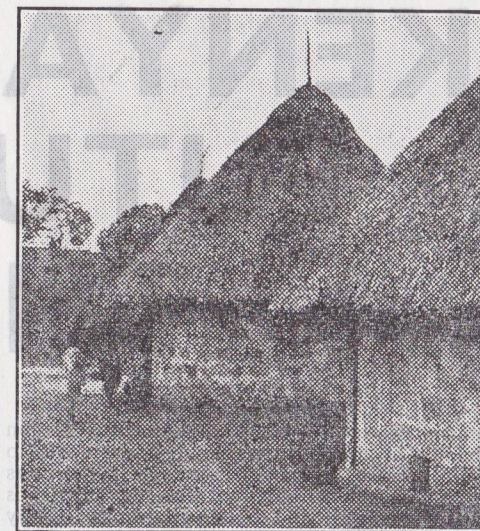
In July, 1955, I joined the African Land Development Board.

I worked in the Githunguri Division of the Kiambu District, and remained with the Board until May, 1956.

## Deliberate lies by the Kenya Government

THE Kenya Government have recently issued a report on the Prisons Department prepared by Mr. Heaton, a former Commissioner for Prisons in Kenya. This report is pure whitewash from beginning to end.

In the report (paragraph six) appears the



The new type of stone houses for the African workers on Mr. Solly's coffee farm near Thika, Nairobi.

Government. Recall only the above cited cases, for example.

In the same paragraph, it is stated that all inmates were "well fed, housed and clothed." This is another lie. The inmates I saw at Tebere Work Camp who had recently arrived from Langata and Manyani camps were in a terrible condition.

They were very dirty, half-starved, unshaven and completely broken in mind and body. They complained bitterly of ill-treatment.

No camp while I was in it ever received a proper inspection from a senior official from the Prisons Department.

The suggestion in the report that detainees were allowed to air their complaints is too ludicrous to be considered.

With the Heaton Report, the Kenya Government produced a Sessional Paper No. 7 of 1956-57.

In it appears the statement that they are "to develop a new approach to rehabilitation at Manyani." They do not say what happened to the last "approach," about which I have written here.

I charge the Kenya Government with:

1. Issuing completely misleading public statements.
2. Issuing statements that contain deliberate lies.
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Most of the Prison Officers were implacable in their hatred and contempt of rehabilitation work and openly obstructed it.

In spite of all these difficulties, however, and largely due to the work of my Kikuyu Rehabilitation Assistant, we completely rehabilitated the African detainees in this camp in two months.

On December 27, 1954, there was a ceremonial public denunciation of Mau Mau held at the camp at the request of the detainees themselves. This was the first such ceremony to be held in a camp in Kenya. It was recorded.

## ***An outrage never before revealed***

IT was about this same time, in December, 1954, or January, 1955, that a serious disturbance occurred at Manyani Camp, of which I learned from a reliable source who had access to all the facts of the case.

The Riot Squad of African Prison Warders, under the command of a European officer, had, for no apparent reason, on the orders of another European officer, been sent into one of the compounds of Manyani camp with orders to "beat up" the detainees.

This they proceeded to do with sticks, lumps of wood and whips. Several European officers were present but did not interfere, in fact they joined in the beating up.

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On Friday, June 3, 1955, another mass "beat up" took place. This was staged by two Rehabilitation Officers senior to me.

In the morning I heard a discussion between them about detainees refusing to confess to the African screening teams. Suddenly I heard the Screening Officer, referred to above, say, "I'll go and get the Riot Squad. That will make the . . . talk."

This he proceeded to do.

(These two officers were permanent pensionable Civil Servants of the Kenya Government.)

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There were about 200 detainees in this compound at this time, all together in a large hangar.

Four or five detainees were in the screening huts dotted around the compound. None of the detainees inside the hangar or in the screening huts were allowed to see what was going on outside.

About 50 detainees were then called out from the hangar, paraded and ordered to strip naked and told to put their arms above their heads and "mark double time".

While doing this, they were beaten by an African Prison Corporal with a long whip. At the same time, they were being pushed by other Prison Warders with rifle butts and fists, accompanied by a lot of shouting. This

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# **The campaign for Kenya**

wife and she said it was extremely bad for the women to be doing this and asked me to take up the matter with the Commandant.

He refused to do anything as he said she should have made her report in the official complaint book. He said his commissioner agreed he need take no action.

Nevertheless I noticed that after her complaint the work was done by the male convicts! "Fuller and further investigation at Langata has failed to produce any evidence of brutality."

Strange that they omit to say that the camp was closed eighteen months ago. How full and thorough, therefore, could the investigation have been.

They say it was the women's own faults that they slept in tents with sides and tops ripped off, open to the wet weather and that the latrines were not shut off from view as the screening material was also torn by the women.

This is true but they do not give the reason which was reported both by myself and the camp rehabilitation officer to several senior officers, including the Commissioner and the Minister for Community Development.

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The facts as presented in this article call for a judicial inquiry into conditions in the detention camps of Kenya.

□ FROM  
PAGE iii

which to say the least contained very disquieting evidence, he was deported.

I would remind them that Colonel Young resigned after only nine months. We have never been told why.

## **A challenge to Kenya**

ANXIETY over the conduct of the Emergency and the Emergency Regulations has been expressed by many people.

These have included the Moderator of the Church of Scotland in Nairobi, a retired Judge, a Queen's Counsel, some Members of both Houses of Parliament and such responsible papers, at different times, as the New Statesman, the Observer and the Manchester Guardian, in addition to many of the public.

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This senseless outrage was only stopped by the intervention of the Roman Catholic Priest in the camp. Some African detainees had been knocked unconscious and nearly 100 were treated in the hospital.

No mention of this event has ever been revealed to the public. The Colonial Office must be made to produce all official reports connected with it and prosecutions under the law started.

Before leaving for Manyani camp, where I was posted in April, 1955, I met a prominent Kikuyu chief in Nairobi who has done some wonderful work for his people.

When I told him I was to go to Manyani, he said, "Thank God . . . [the Commissioner for Community Development] is sending someone there who knows about the Kikuyu at last."

On my arrival at Manyani camp, I found that there were three other Rehabilitation Officers, two of them to be my superiors. Neither of them had the least knowledge of the work, as subsequent events were to prove.

The background of these three is of interest as it gives an insight into the type of person who was being chosen at that time for this vitally important work.

### **CHRISTIAN ACTION**

Part of the cost of printing the extra pages for Miss Eileen Fletcher's article has been defrayed by a generous donation of £30 from Christian Action. Christian Action is not, of course, responsible for the views expressed by any of the contributors to the supplement.

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While this was going on, the Screening Officer was running around the Screening Huts shouting, "Getting any results yet?" to the African screeners inside. Many of them complained to me later bitterly about this spectacle. The Senior Rehabilitation Officer stood watching the "beat-up" about ten yards away with his arms folded for part of the time. The European of the Kenya Police Reserve who was in charge of the Riot Squad was present throughout.

I wrote an immediate report to the Commissioner for Community Development protesting at this outrage and describing it as a disgusting, degrading spectacle.

I received no acknowledgement.

A Senior Officer in the department tried to get me to deny my report. I refused. He inferred that I was a liar.

I later learned that both the Senior Rehabilitation Officer and the Screening Officer at first both denied the truth of my report, but later admitted it.

As far as I know, no action about this happening has been taken by the Commissioner for Community Development. Such action would probably have reflected on his judgment in making appointments in his department, for, as I was told by the female Secretary to the Kenya Civil Service Commission Board, the Board leaves all appointments to the Commissioner for Community Development, "He's the only person who knows the type of person required for that work."

# **The campaign for Kenya**

FROM  
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This is true but they do not give the reason which was reported both by myself and the camp rehabilitation officer to several senior officers, including the Commissioner and the Minister for Community Development.

The reason was that no material of any kind was given to any female which could be used for sanitary towels. In their own villages the women use banana leaves but these, of course, were not available.

A woman prison officer told me that Prison Regulations say women are to be given a handkerchief for use for such purposes, but I never knew of any such issue nor did any of the women officers to whom I spoke.

The Government say they cannot understand why I made no reports or complaints in Kenya but waited till I got home.

I made frequent reports and complaints both written and verbal.

I became convinced, by my experience, that things would only be put right through public opinion in this country.

Mr. Askwith also knew of similar happenings to those I reported. I would ask him what steps he took about the alleged beatings-up which caused a male Rehabilitation Officer to resign. (This information was given me by the Assistant Commissioner.)

What steps did he take about the mass beating-up at Manyani which resulted in a number of detainees being injured? I was present at a Staff Meeting when he referred to this.

What steps did he take to establish the truth of, and to deal with, complaints which he mentions in a secret report, dated May 24, 1954, in paragraphs 37 and 38?

What steps did he take following complaints about Prison Officers made by Dr. Becker, other than moving Dr. Becker?

I would also remind the Government that soon after Peter Evans submitted a report, prepared in accordance with his legal training,

which to say the least contained very disquieting evidence, he was deported.

I would remind them that Colonel Young resigned after only nine months. We have never been told why.

## **A challenge to Kenya**

ANXIETY over the conduct of the Emergency and the Emergency Regulations has been expressed by many people.

These have included the Moderator of the Church of Scotland in Nairobi, a retired Judge, a Queen's Counsel, some Members of both Houses of Parliament and such responsible papers, at different times, as the New Statesman, the Observer and the Manchester Guardian, in addition to many of the public.

None of these will be satisfied with the Kenya Government judging its own case and saying all is well.

If they continue to refuse to set up an independent judicial enquiry, if they still refuse access to the International Red Cross, then it will simply give added credence to the widespread belief that Kenya has something to hide.

I have only just learned that an article from another Rehabilitation Officer is to be included in the Supplement. My sole object in bringing the question of the Kenya Emergency before the public, as I have done, is to get injustices and abuses put right. With additional facts now coming in from other sources, it may be that the work will develop on different lines from those I had adopted. I shall be grateful therefore if people wishing me to write for, or speak to, them, will get in touch with me direct: c/o 4 Maurice Walk, London, N.W.11.

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# KENYA FACES THE FUTURE—WITH THIS PAST

## ★ FROM PAGE ONE

mission interests (though opposed by mission bodies in the UK itself). The proposals to grant Indians common electoral rights was withdrawn, their exclusion from the Highlands was confirmed, and immigration was strictly controlled.

Today the Kenya governmental structure is eloquent testimony to the victory of communalism and of White domination: of the non-official members, the Europeans, representing some 42,000 people, have 14 Members of Legco; the "Asians" elect six, the Arabs one. The Africans have six appointed Members (representing one million people each!). And on top of this, there is a heavy representation of Europeans amongst the official Members.

## Repression of Africans

THE Africans of Kenya did not appear on the political scene until much later. By the late 'twenties, as land pressure increased, they were beginning to realise that they had lost their land, and dissatisfaction grew.

Relations between Africans and Europeans had been notoriously tinged with violence from an early date. Even before the turn of the century whipping incidents had shocked the world. But this was not the fundamental source of discontent.

The settler community, assisted by Government loans, cheap land, concession rates on the railways, cheap labour, and a hundred and one special favours, was clearly given preferential treatment over the Africans. Even railway spur-lines were built to the European farming areas rather than to the native reserves.

It would be quite wrong, therefore, to accept the popular picture of the Kenya settler as a man who wrested his farm from the bush with his bare hands.

In contrast, the African Land Utilisation and Resettlement Board, set up in order to assist African agriculture, had only spent some £320,000 of the £3m. available to it, and had

ing in the formation of the East African Trades Union Congress in 1948, a body which consisted of a number of small unions, mainly in Nairobi, but which, within a year, claimed a membership of 10,000. Government soon acted to bring it under control, and arrested the secretary, an Indian Communist named Makhan Singh, together with other leaders, tried them, and deported Makhan Singh.

There followed a wave of repressive legislation, concerned with the registration of trade unions, the giving of wide powers to authority to ban meetings, to control movement, and so on. And all of this was long before Mau Mau was ever heard of.

Side by side with the growth of trade unionism, there was a rapid expansion of the Kenya African Union, a nationalist organisation of a constitutionalist type which was set up at the end of the war. Before long it commanded a very wide following, notably among the Kikuyu, the largest and most socially and politically advanced of all the peoples of Kenya, though it was a pan-Kenya organisation.

One can form some estimate of the support it enjoyed by observing that KAU was able to forward to the United Nations a petition demanding the extension of political and human rights to Africans, signed by no less than 400,000 people.

KAU was led by Jomo Kenyatta, the man who was later arrested and accused of "managing" Mau Mau.

I think anyone who has read Montagu Slater's book "The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta," which gives a fair selection of the evidence brought by both sides in the trial, will con-

clude that the trial was a travesty of British justice, and that the charge was not proven.

When it was announced in 1952 that there was a body called the Mau Mau which was trying to gain political control of Kenya by means of terror, there were few who had even heard of it. There had been a few allusions in Government reports to its existence, but its importance had rightly been decried as minimal.

Had the Mau Mau, then, suddenly become a mass organisation overnight?

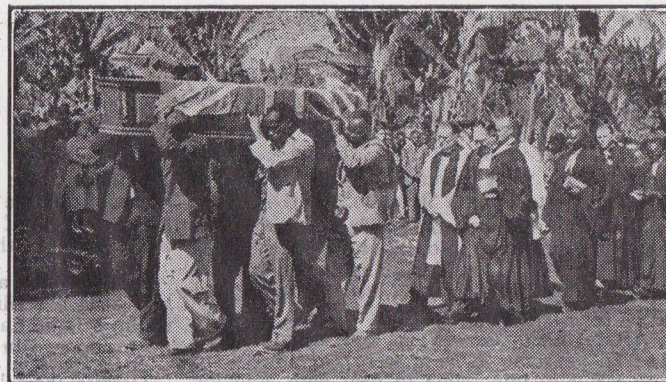
I think that there is no evidence to support this view. Indeed, Mr. Davies, Kenya's Chief Native Commissioner, when asked by reporters in London in mid-September, 1952, about the newly-declared Emergency and about the terrorism, replied:

"What terrorism? I do not know of any terrorism, but there is a small subversive element which I think should be controlled before it gets larger."

## Rise of Mau Mau

EXTREMIST elements had indeed succeeded in gaining the upper hand—but not amongst the Africans! Even before 1952, there had been joint Army-police exercises at Nanyuki which were specifically said to be concerned not with the possibility of external attack, but with internal security.

In the light of the attacks upon the East African Trades Union Congress, the introduction of repressive legislation, and the obvious insignificance of the Mau Mau at the time



The funeral procession of Kikuyu Chief Waruhiu who was killed by the Mau Mau. He was highly thought of by the Europeans and a public subscription was raised for a memorial to him.

when the Emergency was declared, there is only one conclusion to be drawn.

Someone had decided that the time had come to smash all major African organisations before they became too strong to deal with.

Indeed, in 1950 there had taken place in Nairobi a meeting called by various African and Asian organisations of widely differing shades of opinion. To the surprise of the organisers—and the platform included such eminently respectable figures as the Indian Member of the Legislative Council, the Hon. C. Madan—the meeting passed a motion from the floor demanding independence.

It was, therefore, with the alarming possibility of a joint campaign by both Africans and Indians for democratic changes in Kenya looming on the horizon that the Mau Mau scare was hurriedly thought up, and wholesale attacks launched on all important African bodies.

This view was expressed at the time by Mr. Eliud Mathu, Government nominee on the Legislative Council, and in the UK in The Observer and the Manchester Guardian.

It is equally clear that after the Emergency began, Mau Mau did become in fact a large-scale organisation supported by the majority of the African population to one degree or another.

Since thousands of people had been arbitrarily arrested, since large-scale military attacks were launched on the Kikuyu, and since tens of thousands of innocent people were imprisoned wholesale as a result of the regulations put into force, all these things forced people to turn towards the Mau Mau and not away from it.

It is for this reason that it developed rapidly and gained enormous support.

By this time Africans were willing to support

# Where do we go from here?

By FENNER BROCKWAY M.P.

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Labour MP for



Relations between Africans and Europeans had been notoriously tinged with violence from an early date. Even before the turn of the century whipping incidents had shocked the world. But this was not the fundamental source of discontent.

The settler community, assisted by Government loans, cheap land, concession rates on the railways, cheap labour, and a hundred and one special favours, was clearly given preferential treatment over the Africans. Even railway spur-lines were built to the European farming areas rather than to the native reserves.

It would be quite wrong, therefore, to accept the popular picture of the Kenya settler as a man who wrested his farm from the bush with his bare hands.

In contrast, the African Land Utilisation and Resettlement Board, set up in order to assist African agriculture, had only spent some £320,000 of the £3m. available to it, and had never acquired any land!

As we all know, large fertile areas were set aside for European occupation and became known as the White Highlands. A large amount of the land reserved for Europeans, however, was not even occupied, and much that was alienated was not cultivated.

To Africans, looking out from their crowded reserves, this was intolerable. They were living packed together, hundreds to the square mile, under conditions which meant that they could not allow the soil a rest as in the traditional agricultural system. Soil-erosion resulted.

With this growing pressure—reaching fantastic figures of five and six hundred to the square mile in parts of Kikuyuland—men could no longer keep their families on what they produced from these little plots alone. And tax had to be paid in cash.

To earn cash, they had to go to work for Europeans. They had to leave their wives, children and elders in the reserve to fend as best they could, and go to the White farms and the towns to earn cash.

Nor had they much opportunity of breaking into the cash-crop market, for regulations prevented them growing profitable export crops such as coffee.

Before long, methods of forcible "encouragement" to go to work, such as the tax, became less and less essential, because new wants developed for European goods, and people were only too keen to take work which would mean cash, and an opportunity to obtain all those things they had now come to desire.

Roughly 40 per cent of this African labour-force worked in agriculture, 25 per cent for the Government, and 10 per cent in domestic service.

Unskilled workers—by far the most numerous—received less than a pound a month, and in the towns lived in shockingly overcrowded conditions.

And in the White Highlands, tens of thousands of Africans were allowed to live on European farms as "squatters"; they could farm a small plot of their own and keep a few head of stock in return for giving their labour to the European farmer for a certain part of the year: their position is roughly analogous to that of the medieval serf, except that they

able to forward to the United Nations a petition demanding the extension of political and human rights to Africans, signed by no less than 400,000 people.

KAU was led by Jomo Kenyatta, the man who was later arrested and accused of "managing" Mau Mau.

I think anyone who has read Montagu Slater's book "The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta," which gives a fair selection of the evidence brought by both sides in the trial, will con-

EXTREMIST elements had indeed succeeded in gaining the upper hand—but not amongst the Africans! Even before 1952, there had been joint Army-police exercises at Nanyuki, which were specifically said to be concerned not with the possibility of external attack, but with internal security.

In the light of the attacks upon the East African Trades Union Congress, the introduction of repressive legislation, and the obvious insignificance of the Mau Mau at the time

attacks launched on all important African bodies.

This view was expressed at the time by Mr. Eliud Mathu, Government nominee on the Legislative Council, and in the UK in The Observer and the Manchester Guardian.

It is equally clear that after the Emergency began, Mau Mau did become in fact a large-scale organisation supported by the majority of the African population to one degree or another.

Since thousands of people had been arbitrarily arrested, since large-scale military attacks were launched on the Kikuyu, and since tens of thousands of innocent people were imprisoned wholesale as a result of the regulations put into force, all these things forced people to turn towards the Mau Mau and not away from it.

It is for this reason that it developed rapidly and gained enormous support.

By this time Africans were willing to support any body which would help them fight back.

Under such conditions, as in all guerilla warfare, brother fought brother, and violence was unmitigated. But, of course, the atrocities were on both sides, and in this kind of warfare there are always atrocities.

Kenya is now entering another stage of its political development with the present series of communal elections. The Europeans have already returned a largely extremist group of candidates, though the actual differences in fundamentals between "liberals" such as Mr. Blundell and the "diehards," are difficult to discern. They are agreed on all basic issues: no opening of the Highland to non-Europeans, separate education and hospitalisation facilities, differential access to justice, and the need to preserve a "European majority and European control."\*

If this is to remain the attitude of the settlers, if, as we hear, only some 75 Kikuyu in the Nairobi area are to be allowed to participate in politics, and if nothing is done rapidly to transform the social, economic and political structure of Kenya, then there is no reason why we should not witness another Emergency in five or ten years' time.

\*Mr. Michael Blundell, quoted in the EAST AFRICA STANDARD, March, 1956.

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# Where do we go from here?

By FENNER BROCKWAY M.P.

*Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Labour MP for Eton and Slough and Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. More than any other person he has been responsible for making colonial affairs and the ending of imperialism live political issues in Britain. His name is known wherever Asians and Africans are struggling for freedom and independence.*

**N**OW that the period of violence is ending we must press for a bold and imaginative constructive programme based on racial equality and social and economic progress. It should include the following:

1. Amend the capital sentence charges. (This should include the case of Dedan Kimathi—charged with being in possession of a revolver.)
2. Withdraw the Emergency regulations.
3. Release the prisoners detained without trial and review the sentences of other prisoners.
4. A commission of enquiry into the conditions of the detention camps and prisons.
5. Extend adult suffrage to the African population.
6. Immediate equality of representation of the races in the Legislative Council and Executive Council.
7. Fix the date of a common electoral roll for a Legislature on an inter-racial basis.
8. Minimum wages on a scale to provide family needs.
9. End the "squatter" labour system on European farms.
10. Extension of trade unions.
11. Universal and inter-racial education.
12. Extension of secondary and technical schools and teacher training colleges.
13. Free adequate and inter-racial medical service.
14. Planning of villages by African District Councils.
15. Big-scale housing programme to suit African needs.
16. Economic planning by a Board with equal racial representation.
17. Establishment of light industries, such as coffee curing, fruit canning, furniture, clothing, boot and shoe manufacture, associated with local products.
18. Re-distribution of land, including access to White Highlands by all races.
19. Modern farming on a co-operative basis.
20. Generous British contribution to meet the costs of this comprehensive social and economic programme.

## THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM SUPPORTS:



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## Trade Unions

**E**ARLY reactions to these new conditions took various forms.

In 1923, Harry Thuku led a mass buring of the hated *kipande* labour registration certificates which each employee had to carry, and which were resented as a means of keeping labour under control and of keeping down wages. There were protests in the rural areas against cattle-culling, and in the urban areas the first trade union sprang up in 1934.

The first sign of larger movements to come was the strike by Mombasa dock-workers just before the war; since then there have been several further strikes in Mombasa.

After the war, trade unions began to develop in many other branches of industry, culminat-

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- The right of all peoples to full independence (including self-determination and freedom from external political, economic and military domination).
- The principal of international mutual aid by the extension to under-developed territories of economic aid free from exploitation or external ownership, technical assistance in the economic, social and political fields, and assistance in the development of trade unions and co-operative organisations.
- The application of the Four Freedoms and the Declaration of Human Rights to all peoples, including Freedom from Contempt by the abolition of the Colour Bar.
- The substitution of internationalism for imperialism in all political and economic relations.

Over 100 MPs are active members. You too can play an active part both as a member and by distributing this supplement.

Further details from the Joint Secretaries

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## RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

a monthly column by

STUART MORRIS

### GOOD WILL TO REPLACE FORCE?

THE main purport of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Christmas sermon was the need to replace force with good will, and he pointed out that this century has witnessed a general revolt against force as the "first and final instrument of a civilised society."

He claimed support for the United Nations since "human wisdom has not yet found a better alternative to the dangerous, double-edged and unpredictable methods of force."

But unfortunately the Archbishop also endeavoured to justify the use of violence in a sinful world in the paradoxical statement that because it was devilish in character it must only be used in conformity with the law of Christ.

The Archbishop seems to have forgotten that Christ had something to say about using Satan to cast out Satan, and if the only thing which can replace force is the moral authority of good will, as he asserts, what chance is there for the alternative so long as the Churches are prepared to sanction the use of violence by claiming that it can come within the scope of Christian conscience?

### VINDICATED

IT is all the more heartening to read in The Aylesford Review, which is edited by the English Carmelite Fathers, an account of "War and Christianity Today" in which the reviewer says:

"The pretence sometimes put forward that a Catholic cannot be a conscientious objector to military service is untenable. Today the number of such objectors is growing. What is important is that pastors of souls and the flocks which look to them for guidance should know under what conditions a Catholic may and under what conditions ought to refuse military service.

"In France, Germany and the United States the Catholic peace movement, small though it may be, is a reality. In Germany during the late war it had its martyrs.

"In England as yet in spite of the efforts of men like Dr. Orchard and Eric Gill, a Catholic peace movement does not exist. But there are stirrings, and in the realm of

## BOOKS

### Disillusioned Communist

ROBERT GREACEN reviews

Hungarian Tragedy, by Peter Fryer, London, Dennis Dobson, 5s.

PETER FRYER has had two aims in mind in writing this short book. Firstly, he gives a moving account of the Hungarian uprising as he saw it with his own eyes. Secondly, he delivers an attack on the Soviet, Hungarian and British Communist Parties as has ever been written.

He is an angry, disillusioned man.

It is hardly surprising that he has been expelled from the Communist Party because (in his own words), "I would not remain silent on the rape of Hungary."

Yet he still maintains that he is a Marxist, unlike the official Communist leaders!

Twenty-nine year old Mr. Fryer was in Hungary from October 26 to November 11 last year, as correspondent of the Daily Worker on whose staff he had worked since 1948.

He saw much that was revoltingly inhuman during those days. He tells how a people weighed down by bad economic and political conditions, and inflamed by the brutality of the secret police (AVH) took power into their own hands.

Atrocity was avenged by atrocity.

We have heard from others, including non-Communists, about the actual sequence of events in Hungary, and Mr. Fryer on this score adds little more to what already is known. Nevertheless his book has a special significance insofar as it comes from a Marxist. Nobody need say that here was a man on the lookout for anti-Red propaganda stories.

Mr. Fryer has very creditably refused to deny his own past, while admitting that he was wrong in his earlier estimate of Rakosi's Hungary. Thus, in spite of blistering criticisms, he can still speak of "the many positive achievements in Hungary after the liberation" of 1945.

He calls the ten year rule of Rakosi a dictatorship "not of the Communist Party, but of a tiny handful of Stalinists."

Of special interest is his outline of the trial

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of Rajk in 1949, which he reported for the Daily Worker. If Mr. Fryer's account of Rajk's treatment is even partly true—as well as the other instances he gives of physical and mental torture inflicted on dissenters by the secret police—it goes far to explain why the Hungarian crowds in their anger hanged and then spat on the corpses of that Gestapo-like AVH. The question one feels like asking Mr. Fryer is this: how much of all this did you know before the famous anti-Stalin Khrushchov speech and the recent events in Poland and Hungary?

Would he answer, as other resignees have answered, that he knew a good deal about what was going on but was afraid of splitting the Party by making a fuss publicly?

Every man must account for his own conscience. We may take comfort from the fact that the day came when Mr. Fryer and other Communists decided they had had enough of lies and shams.

Where do they go from here, these Communists without a Party? It may not be too much to hope that some of them, having obeyed the dictates of conscience, will think long and hard about the nature of organised violence, whether Marxist, Stalinist, capitalist or any other, and then realise that no good comes of it.

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But, disappointing as it is, the book contains one excellent feature: a collection of thirty-five splendid plates, many of which tell us more of the great man than all the text.

## MUSTE

FROM  
PAGE TWO

quarters of the World Council of Peace, copies of the resolution adopted by the Helsinki conference of the Bureau in November and of resolutions relating to Hungary by national sections of WCP, with which some Peace News readers are no doubt already familiar.

What is new here—and in my view of great importance to all the peace movements of the world, of which WCP does not have a monopoly—is that at last condemnation of Russia, divergence from Communist official policy, is expressed or unmistakably implied.

The British Peace Committee called not only upon France and Britain to give up armed action in Egypt but upon Russia to do the same in Hungary and so on.

The most striking feature of all, perhaps, so far as WCP pronouncements are concerned, is that such prominent Soviet Communists as Ilya Ehrenburg and Alexander Korneichuk are among the signers of the Helsinki resolution which calls for the withdrawal of all Russian troops from Hungary and declares for "the full exercise of Hungarian sovereignty."

In the light of past, and for that matter current, events one waits for future developments to enable one to figure out just what these signatures mean.

### DISCUSSION POSSIBLE

But one thing is clear, namely that with critical statements applied to the Communist as well as non-Communist worlds and divergent views openly advocated within Communist parties, discussion with them has become possible.

In view of the delicate world situation and the unutterable calamity that would result from resort to nuclear force to resolve it, such discussion now seems to me imperative and urgent.

Here in the US in recent weeks such discussions have taken place. Some of them have been public meetings in which a CP spokesman as well as others participated. In every case audiences of from 500 to 800 turned out, which is something that has not been true of political meetings here for a long time.

There are also smaller private meetings of individuals in which the meaning of current developments is being discussed frankly and with an absence of the vituperation which marked such exchanges, when they occurred at all, in the thirties.

### Books to Read

- AFRICAN JOURNEY, by Fenner Brockway 13s. 6d. (8d.)
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"In England as yet in spite of the efforts of men like Dr. Orchard and Eric Gill, a Catholic peace movement does not exist. But there are stirrings, and in the realm of ideas it is usual for us to be fifty or so years behind the Continent.

"However one explains it, the seeming lack of attention given by Christians (by no means by Catholics only) to the Fifth Commandment is a terrible scandal. That it has alienated many from the Church is certain."

## VIOLENCE REPUDIATED

IT is also good to find that the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh in his Christmas address, while recognising the injustice of partition, expressed the special wish "to remind our young men that acts of violence will not advance the cause they have at heart."

He referred to the clear and definite statement issued by the Bishops at the beginning of 1956 and desired all priests to impress upon their flocks that the instructions regarding the use of armed force continue to bind the faithful.

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Tension grips the reader from the first page as the electrically counted minutes stretch unbearably—"fifteen minutes... the loud-speakers blared on the flight deck... Fifteen minutes to the bomb test.

"Ten seconds... Five

"An imbecile notion flickered in the General's brain and expired: he could leap up and cry 'stop.' He still could. A word from Stamford. A button pressed. The whole shebang would chute on down, unexploded...

"Three seconds... two... one... zero

"Slowly the sky blew up." With economy of phrase and imaginative force, in 59 pages which should be read at a sitting, the author tells his story. The "message of icy space and flaring stars," writ in the "tongues of earth," is once again given to mankind.

It is the message of all the great religious teachers throughout the ages. Only its urgency is new.

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An excellent book to give to younger readers who have not yet irrevocably chosen the Churchill model for emulation or adoration; it is, at least, about someone really important.

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This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of

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LITERATURE

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"However one explains it, the seeming lack of attention given by Christians (by no means by Catholics only) to the Fifth Commandment is a terrible scandal. That it has alienated many from the Church is certain."

## VIOLENCE REPUDIATED

It is also good to find that the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh in his Christmas address, while recognising the injustice of partition, expressed the special wish "to remind our young men that acts of violence will not advance the cause they have at heart."

He referred to the clear and definite statement issued by the Bishops at the beginning of 1956 and desired all priests to impress upon their flocks that the instructions regarding the use of armed force continue to bind the faithful.

the electrically controlled minutes stretch unbearable—"fifteen minutes... the loudspeakers blared on the flight deck... Fifteen minutes to the bomb test."

"Ten seconds... Five... An imbecile notion flickered in the General's brain and expired: he could leap up and cry 'stop.' He still could. A word from Stamford. A button pressed. The whole shebang would chute on down, unexploded..."

"Three seconds... two... one... zero... Slowly the sky blew up."

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### Sunday, January 13

**BRISTOL:** 3.30 p.m.; Oakfield Rd. Unitarian Ch. Ratnaika of Ceylon, "The Third Camp." Commonwealth, ILP and PPU.

**CHATHAM:** 3 p.m.; Church of the Great Companions, Hamond Hill. Peace Service conducted by Rev. Will Hayes. Rev. George Neely, "Christianity and World Peace."

**WOOLWICH:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Eglinton Rd. Ronald Mallone BA (Fellowship Party), "Quakerism and Political Activity in 1957." Society of Friends.

### Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

### MONDAYS

**SHIPLEY:** 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

**KIDBROOKE:** 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Discussion, music, radio, etc.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mtg. on Dec. 20; no further mtg. until Jan. 10. PYAG.

### Monday, January 14

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.45 p.m.; 3 Wentworth Rd., Olton. Members mtg. Sheldon Group, Peace Pledge Union.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7.15 p.m.; Temperance Institute, Carlton Cres. AOM. "Any Questions." Peace Pledge Union.

### Tuesday, January 15

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; 5 Endsleigh Place. Ernest Bader, "The Scott Bader Commonwealth." Chair: Leonard Tomkinson. Discussion. Fellowship Party.

### Thursday, January 17

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Ted Redhead, MP, "Today's Challenge to the Pacifists." PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Arlo Tatum, "Civil Disobedience to Conscription." PYAG.

### Friday, January 18

**CROYDON:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Park Lane. Leslie A. Smith, "Some Problems of the White Highlands of Kenya." FOR.

### Wednesday, January 23

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m.; Hermes Room, Guildhall Chambers, 26 Broad St., 1. Preparation 1957 activities. Peace Pledge Union.

### Thursday, January 24

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Maud Simcox, "World Citizens at Cardiff, 1956." PPU.

### Sunday, January 27

**LONDON, W.C.2:** 2.30 p.m.; Westminster Friends Mtg. Ho., 52 St. Martins Lane. Conf. for C.O.s. Young men and women of 16 and over invited. Gerald Littleboy. Tea provided. Society of Friends.

### Tuesday, January 29

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Monthly mtg. London Area PPU.

### Thursday, January 31

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group discussion. PPU.

### Tuesday, February 5

**WOOLWICH:** 8 p.m.; Progress Hall. Admiral Seymour Rd. Eltham Well Hall. Public mtg. for adoption of Fellowship Party prospective Parliamentary candidate for Woolwich West. Ronald Mallone, BA, Fellowship Party.

### Thursday, February 7

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Edith Adlam, "Recent Changes in Uzbekistan." Peace Pledge Union.

readers who have not yet received one should the Churchill model for emulation or adoration; it is, at least, about someone really important.

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**THE THIRD WAY**, annual general meeting, Tuesday, January 15, 7 p.m., Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Gene Sharp, "The Third Way in the Present International Situation." Visitors welcome.

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# PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES

Arab asked: "Is it possible to inform all villagers within a quarter of an hour?" The reply was: "Shut your mouth."

The officer and his men continued their way towards the centre of the village and informed those they met of the curfew, and also those who were sitting in the cafes.

In this way the inhabitants of Tira got to know about the change of curfew time, and at 5 p.m. they were all in their houses, except one villager, Nima Abd El Megid, an old man of 65 to 70 who was guarding the sugar cane fields outside the village.

He went home as usual a little past five. When he approached the village he was shot in the hand and wounded. The watchman shouted: "I am of Tira and here is my identity card." Two of the security men went up to him and killed him.

No printed or written notice was put up in any place in Tira and no announcement was made there about the change of time of the curfew.

## BOY KILLED

**TAIBEH** At Taibeh the curfew was announced in the same way as in Tira and at the same time approximately. One of the villagers who did not know about the new curfew sent his son, a boy of 11-12, to buy him cigarettes. It was past five. The boy went and has not returned.

At 6 p.m. his mother started to look for him. It was already dark in the village. On her way she stumbled upon a body and fell over it.

She knocked on a door and asked the people there to come out and see who was lying in the street. She was told that the guard had fired there. When they came out with light she saw that it was her son.

She ran in the streets asking to be killed, but she did not meet the security guards.

In Taibeh it was told later that the guard got hold of the boy and then killed him. Two of the security men said that he should not be killed, since he was only a little boy, but one of them said he should be killed, and killed him.

## WORKERS SHOT

**KASSEM** An officer came to Kassem at 4.30 p.m. and ordered the Mouchtar (head of the village) to inform the villagers that curfew will start at 5 p.m.

The Mouchtar said he would inform those who were within the village. But what about those who were working outside the village, in

second guard and by the order of the officer who was in command of this guard, the security men took hold of them, arranged them in groups—five or ten—and shot them.

Those who were not killed were shot at again and again till they were killed. In these groups were also the children, aged eight to ten years, who were sent to call their fathers to come home.

To this place came also a car carrying about 15 girls and women who worked in the nearby orange groves. The car was driven by a driver, Abu Hilmi, from Taibeh.

## CAR STOPPED

The guard stopped the car, seized the driver by his neck, dragged him down, and shot several bullets through his head. The women began crying, and the security men shot at them and killed seven of them. The remaining women begged for their lives.

The officer ordered the firing to cease and contacted somebody by wireless. After about ten minutes he gave orders that the remaining women be shot, and all were killed except one who had been wounded in the chest and remained alive.

To this place came also a woman, not an inhabitant of Kassem, carrying in her arms her child aged two months. The guard shot at the woman and then at the child, and both were killed, the child remaining in the arms of the mother. In this state they were brought to the police station of Kafar-Saba, and so they were both buried.

The number killed in Kassem: 47; in Tira and Taibeh: 2.

## Gollancz and Rubinstein appeal for Arab refugees

**"PEACE will be impossible until people keep in the forefront of their thoughts not their own national or racial 'interests,' real or supposed, but the good of all nations and races indifferently."**

This view was expressed by Victor Gollancz, the well-known publisher and pacifist, and H. F. Rubinstein, the distinguished Jewish playwright, in a letter to The Times on Arab-Israeli relations on January 1. The writers continued:

"The establishment of the State of Israel was inevitably dictated, we believe, by the course of history, dark with Jewish blood: but that is not for a moment to deny that it involved grave injustice to many Arabs, or

## "The greatest of these . . ."

And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity. —I. Corinthians XIII. 13.

**AT** the beginning of a year in which all the conventional good wishes have been tinged and shadowed with a sceptical, shrugging, unspoken, and sometimes spoken comment, that "it could scarcely be worse," it is, perhaps, as well to consider what is meant by "worse."

That in this coming year the situation between Governments and nations could very easily be worse, if they continue to place their faith and their hope upon the deterrent effect of great armaments and threats to use them, ought to be obvious to the least intelligent.

Plainly, if Eisenhower's statement is to be taken as typical, the way to peace is still considered to be the way of armed strength, and this, unquestionably, could lead to a third world war.

Faith in armaments; hope that they will keep the peace; this is the foundation of Government policies the world over. None dare venture, apparently, into the realm of charity, or as the Revised Version translates it—love.

It is unfortunate that so lovely a word as "charity" should have taken on a meaning that appears to denote a rich man's bounty, a giving based upon means, not good will, a patronage founded in superiority.

But, in fact, there is no real charity except that conceived and carried out in love. It is this third essential virtue which is invariably

left out in the policies adopted as a means towards a peaceful world.

It is not possible, of course, to love, in the personal sense of that much misused word, such men as Hitler or Stalin; it is no doubt difficult to think in such terms of Eden or Nasser, or even of a next door neighbour, or near relative who is mean, malicious, stupid or unkind.

The love of one person for another, is not to be confused, however, with the sense of good will to mankind that is covered by the word "charity."

The great need in the world today is that the approach to other nations and other peoples, their problems and their dilemmas, should be undertaken in the spirit of charity which endeavours to see the questions of racial and national difficulties, not through the magnifying glass of self-assurance and self-importance, but through the vision of tolerance and selflessness.

It is easy for the rich, possibly for the not-so-rich to put their hands in their pockets and to turn out their wardrobes to feed the poor refugees from Hungary; it is not so easy to think kindly of the Russians, who are slaves of their Government's decisions in very much the same way as are most other ordinary citizens today.

It is perhaps not very difficult to think with charity of those who have fought for their human right to be free, even when this has involved bloodshed and violence; it is much more difficult to offer the same charity to those who have liquidated, and deported, thousands of human beings.

But, if it is true, that charity is the greatest of all human virtues then the peace of the world, and the survival of the human race may well depend upon it.

Touch them where you will, St. Paul's words to the Corinthians ring through all the centuries, since first they were written down, with the deep, full tone of truth; faith and hope are not enough.

It is charity the world needs; the charity which would make war impossible; the charity which bears even insults, which believes in the best, which hopes for the good, which endures to the end.

It is this attribute which transforms the enemy into a friend; it is this virtue that "never faileth" which the human race so greatly needs to exercise. If Governments will not try it then ordinary citizens must.

To this end, in faith and in confidence, let

## Israeli scientist backs programme to resettle refugees

**IN** an interview with a Peace News

Isaiah in the spirit of which, we suggest, they should think and feel and exercise any influence they can: 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.'

**DIASPORA: The dispersal of the Jewish people beyond Palestine.**



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The officer said: "For this matter I am responsible."

The Mouchtar and other people went from house to house and informed the villagers about the curfew, and at the fixed hour the villagers went to their homes.

But the workers who worked outside the village were intercepted on their way home by armed guards. There were two such guards.

One was standing near the Home-of-the-aged of Ras-El-Ein. By this way the workers of Petach-Tikva return home, and they return usually on bicycles. Everyone of these workers who was caught by the guard was taken aside to a lane and shot. If a group came all were killed.

The second guard was standing not far from the village school, at the entrance of the village.

Here converge all the roads leading to the village, and this is the only way for entering the village.

## SENT FOR FATHERS

After the Mouchtar informed the villagers that the curfew would begin at 5 p.m. some children were sent to call their fathers who worked outside the village in nearby fields to come back immediately to their houses.

These workers met on their way home the

## U.S. COMMITTEE AGAINST MILITARIZATION

invites applications from prospective international Peace-Monitors to write frequent anti-military and pro-peace letters-to-editors of large circulation newspapers. Instead of reaching an audience of merely 12,000 Peace News subscribers, your letter can influence

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"The establishment of the State of Israel was inevitably dictated, we believe, by the course of history, dark with Jewish blood: but that is not for a moment to deny that it involved grave injustice to many Arabs, or that, if the positions had been reversed, Jews would have felt as resentful as Arabs have felt.

"And it is a plain fact that hundreds of thousands of ordinary Arabs—as little connected with statecraft as were the millions of Jews whom Hitler incinerated—have suffered most horribly as a consequence, direct or indirect, of the establishment of Israel.

"That Arab politicians are themselves in large part responsible for the continued and heartbreaking misery of the Palestine refugees is a matter for the Arab conscience rather than a valid Jewish alibi.

"It is natural that the leaders of Israel, like the leaders of all countries in an unregenerate world, should be predominantly concerned with the safety and prosperity of their own State and nation.

"But Jews in the Diaspora can take a larger view: that they should take a larger view, some indeed may think, was the divine purpose of the Diaspora. There is a verse of

It is unfortunate that so lovely a word as "charity" should have taken on a meaning that appears to denote a rich man's bounty, a giving based upon means, not good will, a patronage founded in superiority.

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DIASPORA: *The dispersal of the Jewish people beyond Palestine.*

## Israeli scientist backs programme to resettle refugees

IN an interview with a Peace News correspondent in Tel Aviv, Dr. M. Reiner, one of Israel's leading scientists, a professor at the Institute of Technology at Haifa, gave the following answer to the question of how an Arab-Israeli settlement could be brought about:

"It is clear that the foremost question which must be solved if an Arab-Jewish settlement is to be reached, is the matter of Arab refugees. Now I am happy to say that Ihud has a definite programme on this point to which I subscribe."

(Ihud is an association established by the late Chancellor of the Hebrew University, Dr. Magnes, for the purpose of Jewish-Arab reconciliation.)

This programme consists briefly in a proposal that an international commission of experts should study ways and means for the resettlement of all Arab refugees whether in Israel, the Arab countries or elsewhere.

## NEUTRAL COMMISSION

The commission should be formed by persons from neutral countries and their deliberations should be free from political considerations.

They should base their recommendations on practical points: on land available for agricultural settlement, water resources and the like.

They should co-opt representatives of the Arab refugees, who should be free to visit their areas of origin and express their own wishes which should be taken into consideration as far as practical circumstances permit.

The commission should not be empowered to suggest re-emigration of such Jews who immigrated into Israel after the establishment of the State and have been settled there.

Dr. Reiner came to Palestine in 1922 as a convinced Zionist in order to take part in the

think kindly of the Russians, who are slaves of their Government's decisions in very much the same way as are most other ordinary citizens today.

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To this end, in faith and in confidence, let pacifists dedicate their work in this new year.

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"And it is a plain fact that hundreds of thousands of ordinary Arabs—as little connected with statecraft as were the millions of Jews whom Hitler incinerated—have suffered most horribly as a consequence, direct or indirect, of the establishment of Israel.

"That Arab politicians are themselves in large part responsible for the continued and heartbreaking misery of the Palestine refugees is a matter for the Arab conscience rather than a valid Jewish alibi.

"It is natural that the leaders of Israel, like the leaders of all countries in an unregenerate world, should be predominantly concerned with the safety and prosperity of their own State and nation.

"But Jews in the Diaspora can take a larger view: that they should take a larger view, some indeed may think, was the divine purpose of the Diaspora. There is a verse of

## BENJAMIN BRITTEN AS BALLET COMPOSER

"THE PRINCE OF THE PAGODAS"—scenario and choreography by John Cranko, music by Benjamin Britten—was given an enthusiastic reception at its world première at Covent Garden on the first evening of the new year.

It has also had a decidedly good Press, with such criticism as there has been confined to a few points about the interpolation of "divertissements" and about the stage décor of the first act.

It is a fairy story of the Cinderella type, in which the heroine is taken on a magic flying journey to the Land of the Pagodas and undergoes some frights and trials, at least one of which is reminiscent of The Magic Flute.

In the end, of course, everything comes right, and the good and modest one of two sisters gets the prince, the bad one ending up in the wire cage, in which she had imprisoned their weakling father, who had doted on her and neglected Sweet Innocence.

### Fascinating lilt

Except where the action requires it to be different, Benjamin Britten's music is happy, tuneful and often notable for a fascinating lilt.

On at least one occasion it flows in the gracious rhythm of six-eighths waltz time. But it can also be fiercely dramatic in evidence of the composer's orchestral resourcefulness, varying from a violin solo to great climaxes with thundering crashes of the loudest percussion reinforced by the sound of magellan instruments.

Through it all, I personally remained conscious of what I take to be Benjamin Britten's predilection for the wood-winds.

"The Prince of the Pagodas," first completely English full-size ballet, should be able to look forward to a great success. R.S.

Benjamin Britten, a conscientious objector in World War II, is a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union.

a professor at the Institute of Technology at Haifa, gave the following answer to the question of how an Arab-Israeli settlement could be brought about:

"It is clear that the foremost question which must be solved if an Arab-Jewish settlement is to be reached, is the matter of Arab refugees. Now I am happy to say that Ihud has a definite programme on this point to which I subscribe."

(Ihud is an association established by the late Chancellor of the Hebrew University, Dr. Magnes, for the purpose of Jewish-Arab reconciliation.)

This programme consists briefly in a proposal that an international commission of experts should study ways and means for the resettlement of all Arab refugees whether in Israel, the Arab countries or elsewhere.

### NEUTRAL COMMISSION

The commission should be formed by persons from neutral countries and their deliberations should be free from political considerations.

They should base their recommendations on practical points: on land available for agricultural settlement, water resources and the like.

They should co-opt representatives of the Arab refugees, who should be free to visit their areas of origin and express their own wishes which should be taken into consideration as far as practical circumstances permit.

The commission should not be empowered to suggest re-emigration of such Jews who immigrated into Israel after the establishment of the State and have been settled there.

Dr. Reiner came to Palestine in 1922 as a convinced Zionist in order to take part in the building up of the Jewish national home.

Zionism, as he understands it, can be realised only through co-operation with the Arab population.

### Aid for Egypt wanted

QUAKERS in Liverpool have urged aid to relieve suffering caused by the recent invasion of Egypt. Their action has arisen out of their belief in the necessity of some positive steps to bring about reconciliation with the Egyptians.

"Whilst recognising the need for relief work for Hungarian refugees," John D. Hamilton told Peace News, "Liverpool Quakers have felt that English people are completely ignoring the relief work which we should offer to Egyptians who have lost their homes and families during the air raids and fighting in Egypt, and particularly around Port Said, as a result of our military operations."

They have sent letters to the local Press, the Lord Mayors of London and Liverpool, the Merseyside Free Church Federal Council, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, and to the Liverpool MPs to urge the setting up of a Relief Fund for Egypt and Government aid for building the Aswan Dam. Most of the replies have been formal acknowledgments.

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